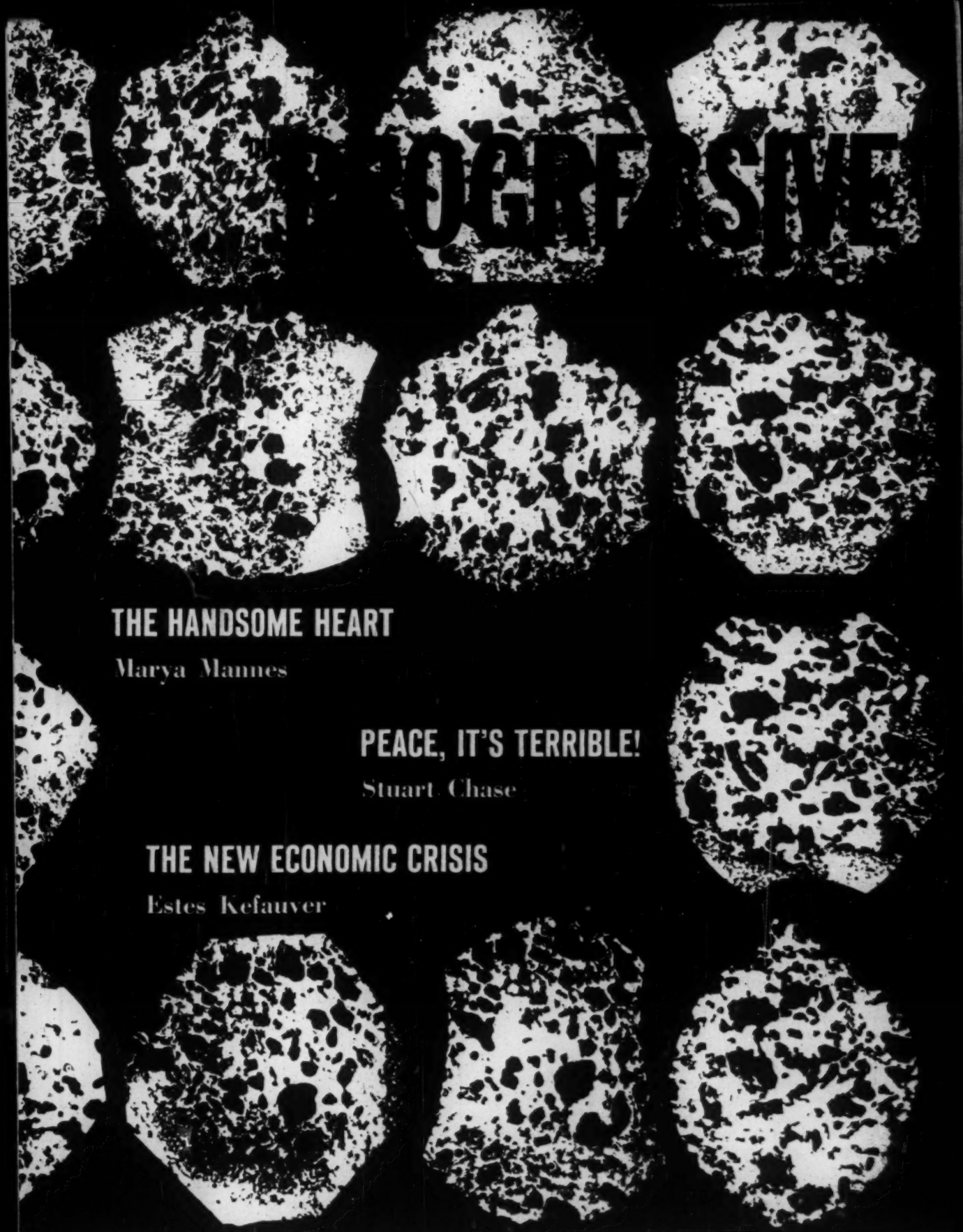
PROGRESSIVE
THE HANDSOME HEART
Marya Mannes
PEACE, IT'S TERRIBLE!
Stuart Chase
THE NEW ECONOMIC CRISIS
Estes Kefauver

Office news

ONE OF THE climactic moments of *The Progressive's* Fiftieth Anniversary Year came in mid-November when we placed the order for the December issue with our printer. It called for 31,000 copies, of which all but 1500 were required to meet our paid subscription list and newsstand sales in the 50 states and 93 foreign countries. This is the greatest number since *The Progressive* became a monthly magazine in 1948.

The Progressive has now moved well ahead of other publications in its field. The circulation of *The Nation*, for example, is 22,270; of *The New Republic*, 23,663, and of *The New Leader*, 15,900. The circulation of *The Progressive* has been climbing steadily, month after month, as the magazine becomes better known. Now, embarking on our 52nd year of publication, we are determined to maintain our leadership by raising still higher the editorial content of *The Progressive*.

•

The financial picture of *The Progressive* has improved as the result of the heart-warming response of our subscribers to our annual appeal for funds, but it is not so bright as the increase in circulation might indicate. We feel we gained considerable ground in holding the deficit for 1959 to $30,000—about the same as the year before—in the face of the increased cost of producing a bigger and better magazine each month.

We had hoped to be able to report in this issue that the Membership drive had reached the goal, but contributions have lagged in the last few weeks and we are still about $2,500 short of the $30,000 we will need for the year ahead. We urge readers who have not yet had the opportunity to help to send a contribution or a pledge, however modest, as soon as possible.

•

The Progressive's Presidential candidate series, which has already covered Senator Stuart Symington, Governor Nelson Rockefeller, Senator John Kennedy, and, in this issue, Senator Lyndon Johnson, will continue next month with a new look at Adlai Stevenson by Richard L. Neuberger.

•

Some brief notes: We regret that the Milton Mayer series, "Two Worlds," scheduled to begin in this issue, has had to be postponed a month. The first installment will appear in February. . . . The FBI series, which had been planned for two installments, has been expanded to three, the second of which appears in this issue. There was such a wealth of fascinating material, and such great interest among our readers, we found we could not do the subject justice in less than three articles. . . . The supply of the September issue, containing Milton Mayer's "Miscegenation" and Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.'s "The Coming Shape of American Politics" has long been exhausted, but reprints of both are available. (See Page 42.)

VOLUME 24 NUMBER 1

The

FOUNDED IN 1909 BY ROBERT M. LaFOLLETTE, Sr.

JANUARY, 1960

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The Progressive makes no attempt to exact complete conformity from its contributors, but rather welcomes a variety of opinions consistent with its general policies. Signed articles, therefore, do not necessarily represent the opinion of the management of the magazine.

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PROGRESSIVE

"YE SHALL KNOW THE TRUTH
AND THE TRUTH SHALL MAKE YOU FREE"

Holiday Greetings

To President Dwight D. Eisenhower, who revealed a genuine zest for peacemaking after death cut him free from an inflexible Secretary of State—
Holiday Greetings.

To Adlai E. Stevenson, whose cautious yet hopeful analysis of Premier Khrushchev's visit to the United States was the most sensible we saw—
Holiday Greetings.

To Norman Thomas, who at 75, despite failing health, goes on waging the good fight for great causes—
Holiday Greetings.

To Dag Hammarskjold, whose stewardship of the United Nations continues to make that body an ever more effective instrument for peace—
Holiday Greetings.

To Eleanor Roosevelt, who at 75 continues to translate her passionate belief in justice and freedom into a killing schedule of good works—
Holiday Greetings.

To George F. Kennan, whose brilliant analysis of world affairs points the way toward negotiated settlements with the Soviets—
Holiday Greetings.

To Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, Minnesota Democrat, whose continuing struggle in behalf of enforcible disarmament provides a ray of hope in an otherwise darkened corner of foreign affairs—
Holiday Greetings.

To Senator John F. Kennedy, who led a courageous fight against the iniquitous loyalty oath feature of the federal student loan program—
Holiday Greetings.

To Senator William Fulbright, who has brought a new sense of affirmative purpose and direction to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee over which he presides—
Holiday Greetings.

To Senator Wayne Morse, who despite occasional exaggerations continues to serve as the conscience of Congress—
Holiday Greetings.

To Federal District Judge Frederick van Pelt Bryan, whose decision that *Lady Chatterley's Lover* was not obscene soundly rebuked the Post Office Department for illegal resort to censorship—
Holiday Greetings.

To the *Wall Street Journal*, whose coverage of the crisis in Laos was the fairest and most accurate we saw—
Holiday Greetings.

To the management of Armour & Company, which pioneered in establishing a $500,000 fund to develop retraining and relocation programs for workers whose jobs are eliminated by automation—
Holiday Greetings.

To the legislature of Oregon, which voted overwhelmingly to abolish loyalty oaths for civil service employees—
Holiday Greetings.

To The Reverend Robert McNeill, whose call for "creative contact" between whites and Negroes lost him his pulpit in Columbus, Georgia, but won him the appreciation of many fair-minded Americans, North and South—
Holiday Greetings.

To Herbert Block (Herblock), the celebrated cartoonist, for whose speedy recovery from critical illness millions pray—
Holiday Greetings.

To Representative William Meyer, Vermont Democrat, who emerged from his first session in Congress fully as devoted to a progressive program in foreign affairs as he was when he astonished the voters of Vermont and the press of the nation by calling for recognition of Communist China, a ban on nuclear weapons, abolition of peacetime conscription, extended negotiations with the Soviet Union, more technical and economic aid abroad, and a reduction in military aid and the military emphasis generally—
Holiday Greetings.

To James P. Warburg, whose writings and lectures in the field of foreign policy have brought urgently needed light to many parts of the country—
Holiday Greetings.

To Mrs. Joe E. Brewer, chairman, and her Women's Emergency Committee of Little Rock, who showed

that city's business leaders the way to forthright action against Governor Orval Faubus' destructive policies—
Holiday Greetings.

To Lenoir Chambers, editor of the Norfolk *Virginian-Pilot*, who is one of the few editors to fight the "massive resistance" program of the Byrd machine in Virginia—
Holiday Greetings.

To Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta *Constitution*, whose editorial work has helped make it possible to desegregate the buses of Atlanta without incident, to desegregate the public library, and generally to make it possible for the city of Atlanta to move rationally toward complete desegregation of public facilities without incident—
Holiday Greetings.

To the legislatures of Colorado, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Oregon and the city of Pittsburgh, for joining New York City in pioneering the adoption of anti-discrimination legislation in public housing—
Holiday Greetings.

To the legislature of Illinois for defeating a trio of subversive-control bills which would have (1) outlawed the Communist Party, (2) revived an investigation of alleged subversion, and (3) started an investigation of so-called un-American text books—
Holiday Greetings.

To the Southern Regional Council, which provides factual fare and objective information on the tortuous problems of race relations in the South, and which almost alone among organizations of Southerners has stood unflinchingly for observance of court decrees in desegregation cases—
Holiday Greetings.

To the Most Reverend Bernard J. Sheil—whose countless good works in behalf of tolerance and decency led the Chicago Jewish community to select him as Man of the Year—
Holiday Greetings.

To the administrators and governing bodies of more than a dozen American colleges and universities, who have withdrawn from the federal student loan program in protest against the loyalty affidavit—
Holiday Greetings.

To Walter Lippmann who, at 70, continues to provide one of the clearest and soundest voices in public affairs—
Holiday Greetings.

To the editors of *The Commonweal* who recently celebrated the 35th anniversary of their excellent magazine—
Holiday Greetings.

To Leonard Bernstein, who has done so much to carry a more hopeful image of America to the rest of the world as his symphony sings a universal language—
Holiday Greetings.

To Dr. Willard Uphaus, executive director of the World Fellowship of Faiths, who risked a jail sentence for the rest of his life because he refused to give New Hampshire's attorney general the names of persons who attended an interracial vacation camp in that state—
Holiday Greetings.

To the American Civil Liberties Union, which continues to stand vigilant guard against those who would dilute the Bill of Rights—
Holiday Greetings.

To the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, whose work in behalf of racial integration is unparalleled in the nation—
Holiday Greetings.

To the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, which does so much to justify its name—
Holiday Greetings.

To the Justice Department, which refuses to prosecute the Post Office Department's silly effort to ban a postcard advertisement of Goya's "The Naked Maja" as obscene—
Holiday Greetings.

To the Illinois Division of the American Civil Liberties Union whose illuminating 47-page study of "Illegal Detentions by Chicago Police" has been widely praised and used—
Holiday Greetings.

To Senator Richard L. Neuberger, whose many articles and speeches on the subject have helped awaken the nation to the need for a far more effective federal health program—
Holiday Greetings.

To the American Legion and its newly elected commander Martin B. McKneally, who kicked out its "fun and frolic" affiliate, the 40 and 8, because it persisted in restricting membership to whites only—
Holiday Greetings.

To Thomas J. Watson, Jr., president of the International Business Machine Corporation, who dared appear before the National Association of Manufacturers to plead for higher taxes and greater sacrifices to achieve the American goal of a "peaceful and prosperous world"—
Holiday Greetings.

To James A. Wechsler, editor of the New York *Post*, whose brilliant editorials have alerted American liberals to the dangers inherent in the negative dogmas that largely make up the Acheson-Truman approach to foreign affairs—
Holiday Greetings.

To J. L. Blair Buck, president, and his Virginia Committee for Public Schools, who provided effective leadership in the fight against "massive resistance" and padlocked schools in the Old Dominion—
Holiday Greetings.

To Ira F. Willard, city manager of Miami, who, although subsequently reversed by the city council, quietly ordered local recreational facilities desegregated because "that is the law"—
Holiday Greetings.

To Dr. John Haynes Holmes, minister emeritus of the Community Church of New York and one of the greatest and most courageous liberal teachers of our time, who has just turned 80—
Holiday Greetings.

To Senator Thomas C. Hennings, Jr., Missouri Democrat, who constantly speaks militantly on civil liberties issues in the Senate—
Holiday Greetings.

To the Reverend Carlos E. Martin of Pine Bluff, Arkansas, who preached against local hatred and bitterness despite segregationist threats and attempted reprisals—
Holiday Greetings.

To all our subscribers everywhere in the world—
Holiday Greetings.

To the several thousand little angels, who have been digging so deeply into their slender resources in the annual struggle to keep *The Progressive* alive—
Holiday Greetings.

To all the members of *The Progressive's* staff, to those who write for us, to the typesetters, proofreaders, make-up men, engravers, and pressmen, who help produce *The Progressive*, and to the mailmen who deliver the magazine to subscribers in all the 50 states and 93 foreign countries—
Holiday Greetings.

And to all men and women everywhere in the world who share a deep hunger for Peace on Earth, Good Will to Men—
Holiday Greetings.

Democrats Divided

The Democratic Advisory Council, a group of VIP's organized to exert liberal pressure within the party, met recently in New York City and drafted a 10,000-word blueprint for the 1960 Democratic national platform. The document is, in most respects, an able indictment of the Eisenhower Administration's failures and a thoughtful statement of some of the things that urgently need doing —especially on the home front.

But no one who reads the text of the document can escape the conclusion that, more than anything else, it graphically accentuates the tragic split in the Democratic Party. For all its valid denunciation of the Eisenhower Administration's lack of "bold and creative leadership," the statement might just as correctly have been addressed to the Democratic leadership in Congress.

The statement, for example, boldly calls for federal aid to education, a stronger civil rights program, a 30 per cent increase in social security benefits, increasing the minimum wage from $1 to $1.25 per hour, and federal programs to stimulate electrical energy output and water conservation and development. None of these is possible of attainment without affirmative action by Congress—and the Democratic majorities in both houses have refused to enact such a program, and show no sign of doing so when Congress reconvenes shortly.

The Democrats are plagued by another split—this one in the field of foreign policy. Former Secretary of State Dean Acheson and former President Harry Truman speak for a wing of the party which clings to the inflexible dogmas of the late John Foster Dulles. At just the moment that negotiation with the Soviets carries the greatest promise of bearing fruit, however modest a harvest, they are busy attempting to equate negotiation with appeasement, busy demanding the preservation of the Cold War status quo.

As a result, the Democratic Advisory Council emerged with a weasel-worded compromise on foreign policy. Typical of the two-headed approach was this paragraph:

"New departures in foreign policy are accompanied by perils as well as by opportunities . . . To permit the Communist world to achieve superiority in military power could be disastrous to the cause of peace. At the same time, as peace is our greatest goal, the achieving of disarmament with inspection and control should have top priority in our policy."

Here is something for everybody—instead of the spirited call for fresh initiative in an all-out drive for negotiated settlements which might have given the Democrats at least part of the posture of peace which is doing so much to enhance Republican prospects in this fateful election year.

As the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* pointed out, instead of caviling over a summit conference and throwing cold water on other creative aspects of foreign policy, the Democrats "ought to be egging Mr. Eisenhower on. The danger is not that he will go too far, but that he will not go far enough. . . . The Democrats will cut themselves off from the people unless they grasp the fact that the President, in both the journey to Asia and the journey to the summit, is giving expression to a profound popular sentiment. The people are not interested in perpetuating a Cold War in which some Democrats seem to think they have a vested interest. The people are interested in establishing the conditions of peace."

And so they are—and unless the

Mauldin in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

"It's a Nice Piece Of Goods—I Used to Wear It Myself"

Democrats break free from the Acheson-Truman yoke on foreign policy, they will continue to retreat in public favor.

Johnson & Johnson

The New York *Post* recently published, side by side, with deadly effect, two statements by Senator Lyndon Johnson, Democratic leader of the Senate majority.

Speaking in Philadelphia in late November, Senator Johnson accused the Eisenhower Administration of cutting the "people's dreams out of the budget."

Two months earlier, in a summary of the achievements of the recent session of Congress, Senator Johnson had said:

"Recognizing the need for careful management of public funds, the Congress carried out its announced intent to cut spending. It reduced the President's appropriation requests by a minimum of $1.8 billion and the President's request for back-door financing by about $700,000,000."

The *Post* asked: "Come on, Lyndon, whose knife did they use?"

Nelson Nixon?

It was only two months ago that *The Progressive* could run a profile of New York's Governor Nelson Rockefeller which suggested he might possibly become "a Republican F.D.R.," a man who would have great appeal, in contrast to Richard Nixon, to liberal Republican and independent voters.

The ink was scarcely dry when Rockefeller forced us to alter our estimate of him as Presidential timber. He issued a series of anti-Soviet saber-rattling statements, one possible purpose of which, we speculated in the December issue, was to set him apart more sharply from the currently conciliatory Nixon.

Now, another month later, Rockefeller has us thoroughly confused. In a recent session on CBS-TV's "Face the Nation" program, Rockefeller steadfastly refused to disassociate himself from or to criticize either Nixon or the President or the policies of the Eisenhower Administration. He parried and evaded question after question. He denied that he was raising an issue of integrity and ability between Nixon and himself. He refused to say that Nixon might not be the best possible Republican candidate. He refused to criticize the President for inviting Nikita Khrushchev to the United States, although it is well known he opposed the visit. He gave a vague blanket endorsement of the Eisenhower Administration's foreign and domestic policies.

Far from presenting the picture of a fresh, dynamic, liberal potential candidate who would be a vivid contrast to Richard Nixon, Rockefeller blurred the lines so thoroughly it struck us that he was anxious to rub some of the Nixon magic off on himself. Has he decided that the way to reach the White House is to ride the Eisenhower-Nixon coattails? If so, the Republican Party would be left with no real choice of candidates after all, and Rockefeller would have no chance of appealing to the great mass of independents without whose support he would clearly have no chance.

The (Not So) Affluent Society

If there are 30 million families in the United States who haven't purchased a copy of John Kenneth Galbraith's *The Affluent Society*, there is at least one good reason: with an average annual income of a miserable $2,040 (before taxes), they could hardly afford it. Furthermore, it seems unlikely that many of this huge segment of our population—more than half of all American taxpayers—would relate the title to the society in which they live.

On the other hand, there are 23,000 families whose incomes topped the $100,000 mark in 1957, the Internal Revenue Bureau has just reported. Nine-tenths of the remaining 29 million taxpayers reported incomes between $4,000 and $10,000. The average was $6,400 after taxes, close to the figure the government estimates necessary to maintain the American standard of living.

New Year's on the Farm

On the editorial page of the *Wall Street Journal*, the American farmer is pictured as a highly favored nephew of Uncle Sam, unfairly petted and pampered with fat subsidies and price supports. But even the *Journal* editors must find this view rather paradoxical when they read on Page One of their own newspaper that farm income in 1960 "probably will decline for the second straight year;" that last year's income dropped 14 per cent from that of 1958; and that 1960 is expected to produce the lowest farm income since 1942. The *Journal* reports that the squeeze on farmers resulting from their mounting costs in the face of falling prices for farm products "will be the harshest ever" in 1960, "surpassing even the depression year of 1932."

The *Journal*, its heart on its sleeve, concludes, "It's unhappy news for merchants that sell to rural markets."

Undoubtedly, one of the things that perpetuates the myth that farmers are rolling in money is the huge agriculture budget—it may run $9 billion this year. But not all of this by any means goes into the farmer's pocket, and much that does represents government crop purchases at prices below the amount the farmer needs to receive a fair return on his work and investment. If the farmer were actually being subsidized so heavily as is so frequently claimed, it is unlikely the *Journal* could report, as it did last month, that this year farmers "will be deeper in debt than at any other time in history."

The Generals' General

If any of our readers still think, as we once did, that the military generals run the nation's defenses, they may be disillusioned, as we have been, by a pamphlet entitled *Labor and the Cold War*, written by Stewart Meacham, and published recently by the American Friends Service Committee.

"The pressures of today's highly technological arms race," writes Meacham, "have taken the initiative and the power to make the crucial decisions out of the hands of responsible government officials and placed it in the hands of technicians, planners, and scientists employed by vast industrial empires and charged with responsibility for their employers' interests."

This is not just the opinion of an anti-militarist, but the considered judgment of *Fortune*, "the magazine of business." Meacham, in citing a recent *Fortune* article with the revealing title, "General Dynamics vs. the U.S.S.R.," defines the relationship between this powerful industrial empire and the military wing of the govern-

ment. In the old days, the government determined its military needs, then called in industry and placed orders with them. Now, says Meacham (and *Fortune*), the science of weaponry is so technical the military has only a foggy notion of its needs. The new approach involves three main steps:

¶ General Dynamics decides what weapons the government needs.

¶ It educates Pentagon representatives so that they may understand what their future needs will be.

¶ It contracts with the Pentagon to produce these weapons.

General Dynamics' John Naish, in charge of Convair, its largest division, is quoted by *Fortune* to illustrate the process. Speaking of Convair's B-58 supersonic bomber, Naish said: "First we had to dream it up, then sell it, then operate a poor man's State Department to get the cooperation of other contractors."

General Dynamics' "poor man's State Department" includes its president, Frank Pace, former Secretary of the Army, and 54 retired military officers, including 17 former admirals and seven former generals. In five years General Dynamics' stock has multiplied in value more than five times, taking into account splits and dividends. More than 85 per cent of its business is military, including such items as the Atlas and other missiles, anti-missile missiles, and jet bombers and interceptor planes.

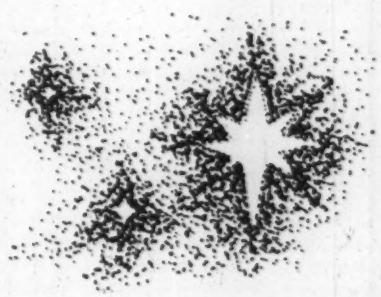
This is only a small sample of the wealth of material Stewart Meacham has provided on the effects of the cold war. He ranges over "The Cold War and the Domestic Economy," "The Cold War and National Security," and "The Cold War and World Economic Development," in a carefully reasoned, well documented presentation that demands agreement with his blunt conclusion: "The Cold War is a burden on the back of labor."

But Meacham's arguments are by no means limited to labor. They have deep implications for all of us. This valuable pamphlet, *Labor and the Cold War,* may be purchased from the American Friends Service Committee, 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia, for 35 cents. It is worth a good deal more.

THE HANDSOME HEART

a safe-conduct to love

by MARYA MANNES



This article on love and giving and the American spirit struck us as the finest expression of the holiday spirit that we could carry in this Holiday Issue of The Progressive. *It appeared in the December issue of* Vogue, *and is reprinted here with the generous permission of* Vogue *and Miss Mannes.*—THE EDITORS

WHEN CERTAIN WORDS go out of fashion, the qualities they describe ebb with them, or—if they still exist—no longer seem to rate high in the public favor. Noble, generous, gallant, largehearted—who is elevated now for these attributes? They have a soft and antique sound, echoing down the corridors of the past.

The hero today can be kind and amiable and easy to get on with, but what he is applauded and venerated for is the sort of shrewdness and competence that puts him ahead of others in the big game. To be hardheaded is a virtue now, and idealism has become a synonym for soft thinking. We leave the heart to the church, to poets, and to charity, for it seems to have small currency in the market place, of ideas as well as goods, which the world has become.

A peculiarly unattractive phrase has been around for some time: "Looking Out for Number One," Number One being, of course, self. And although it issues mainly from the mouths of movie and television crooks or delinquents in novels, it is implemented every day by the fellow who cuts in front of your car without warning, the woman who lets the swing-door slap in your face, and the salesgirl who considers your questions intrusions on her time. They are all Looking Out for Number One. Whatever it was in them (if indeed they ever had it) that gave freely to others in look or smile or care or warmth has been atrophied: the heart, withheld, is a small, shrivelled thing.

What is, precisely, this giving, not of things, but of self? Well, if you'd been at Agincourt you would have recognized it in Henry the Fifth:

"A largess universal like the sun,
His liberal eye doth give to every one,
Thawing cold fear, that mean and gentle all
Behold, as may unworthiness define,
A little touch of Harry in the night."

And had you been at the funeral of Abraham Lincoln, you would have wept, with Walt Whitman: "And how shall I deck my song for the large sweet soul that has gone?"

A largess universal; a large sweet soul. Even the dictionaries and the thesauri concede that generosity is

the mark of kings, for listen to them grope their way to definition: to be generous is to be "liberal, free, great, humane, largehearted"; "exhibiting qualities regarded as belonging to high birth . . ."; "benignant, disinterested, altruistic, magnanimous, chivalrous."

Lofty attributes all—in the dictionary. But what politician in his right mind would apply them to his candidate in a nominating speech at a convention? Honest, upright, God-fearing, yes; but to credit him with generosity and largeness of heart would be to undo him. Ah yes, nice qualities, but impractical. The generous can make trouble by giving away what they should sell.

But do they? Isn't the real truth that generosity is intensely practical and that the ungenerous are the enemies of the people? What has a man or a woman or a nation lost by giving? What love, what marriage can possibly endure without generosity, without a constant exercise of the heart?

We, of all peoples in the world, have matched the freedom of our continent with the freedom of our souls and lived—until now at least—in the image of generosity. It is the first quality the rest of the world has always praised us for, and our history is blazoned with gestures of humanity and altruism that have served as models for the less fortunate and the less free. Why then should we now constrict ourselves out of fear: fear of being suckers, fear of being "soft," fear of being outraced by others?

Can we no longer afford to be generous—to give, if nothing else, the example of a rich and mighty nation *free* to give? Is it, as the "practical realists" say, "our largess universal" that has cost us our prime place in the world, or is it rather small thinking about material competition? What has happened to our "large sweet soul," once the world's beacon? That the image of business seems to have replaced it in so many places is bad business—for all.

I think it is time we reinstated the heart. The head alone can never solve the affairs of men, whether it is the division of race in our own land or the division of power on earth. Man and woman, labor and management, black and white, capitalism and socialism; between each is a no-man's-land where the only passport is understanding—not only in the head but in the heart—and the only safe-conduct is compassion. This is in itself an act of giving; not of giving in, but of allowing the imagination to cross the borders of difference.

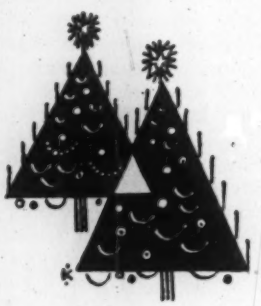
But it is easier—much easier—to "stand firm," not to give an inch. Our society is now so organized that we are free to stand on our rights without acknowledging those of others: the right of a bus driver to deny a passenger information; the right of a saleslady not to say "Ma'am"; the right of a stenographer not to punctuate; the right of a worker not to do a full day's work for a full day's pay; the right of a waiter not to wait; the right of a nurse not to smile; the right of a manufacturer to charge more for cheaper products; the right of a wife to demand more than her husband can afford; the right, in all cases, to take and not to give.

But the irony is that these standers-on-rights, these takers, these ungenerous souls will, in the end, be the losers. They can not, unfortunately, lose their jobs, but they can and do lose respect and affection. They lose an answering smile, a warm response, a new friend. They lose love.

For what man can live for long with an ungenerous woman? And what ungenerous man can hold his wife's love? The answer to that timeless riddle about couples, "I wonder what she sees in him—or he in her?" is easy: a magnanimous spirit.

Or, as Gerald Manley Hopkins wrote in his poem, "The Handsome Heart". . .

"Mannerly-hearted! more than handsome face—
Beauty's bearing or muse of mounting vein,
All, in this case, bathed in high hallowing grace . . ."



It is not easy to sustain a "high hallowing grace," but the habit of generosity can be learned and practiced. A woman can take pleasure in the pleasure lovely women take in her husband, and hold him the closer. A man can be proud of his wife's achievements and gain, rather than lose, stature by his obeisance. A generous woman can concede greater charms in another woman without resenting them or diminishing herself. A generous man can admit his errors and rue his weaknesses without denying his virtues. A generous mother can want her children to grow free of her, and yet not lose them. A generous employer can praise good work without forfeiting authority.

Yet there are a great many people who, thinking it smart to be tough and wise to be cynical, hold to that other unattractive phrase: "Give them an inch and they'll take a mile," or "Give them a finger and they'll take your hand." I have found the opposite to be true: that you receive what you give and sometimes more than you give. I am convinced that the instances of trust repaid are far greater than those of trust abused. And if the trust is indeed abused, it may well be because of the manner given. You hear a great deal today about the lack of gratitude on the part of others for what we, as a nation, have given to them. But often our material gifts have been accompanied by moral demands: a bargain which removes the transaction from the heart to the market place. Generosity with strings is not generosity: it is a deal.

I would like to think that if we took a cardiograph of the nation's heart we would find it sound—sounder, in fact, than a dollar. But this noble organ needs a campaign for rehabilitation as the prime factor of our greatness, individual and national. Generosity of spirit is the real conqueror of space—between one country and another, one man and another, one race and another, one idea and another. The act of casting bread upon the water is not only beautiful but rewarding. Christ knew this two thousand years ago. We might begin to remember it now.

Lyndon Johnson: Conservative

by WILLIAM V. SHANNON

This is the third of a series of articles exploring Presidential possibilities for 1960. Earlier articles have dealt with Senator Stuart Symington, Missouri Democrat, New York's Republican Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller, and last month, Senator John Kennedy, Massachusetts Democrat. Subsequent articles, to appear in early issues, will present the career and record of Adlai E. Stevenson, Vice President Richard M. Nixon, and Senator Hubert Humphrey. —THE EDITORS.

LYNDON JOHNSON of Texas, the man who brought "guided democracy" to the United States Senate and a bland, unwonted surface of harmony to the Democratic Party, is prepared this year to attempt to move his moderate-conservative coalition operation from the Capitol to the White House. He has in recent months made pioneering journeys to Boston, Brooklyn, and other Northern cities. He has begun making appearances in the farm belt states of Kansas and Iowa. He has visited the United Nations and conferred with the President of Mexico. Only a trip to Russia is needed to make his Presidential candidacy official.

Johnson is the only Democratic Presidential contender whose candidacy poses a sharp philosophical choice. Senator Hubert Humphrey is clearly a liberal in the mainstream of the Roosevelt-Truman tradition. Senator John Kennedy, although attempting to hold and attract moderate and even conservative support, is, like Adlai Stevenson, who made a similar attempt in 1952 and 1956, basically committed to the liberal position on major issues. And the same is true of Governor Pat Brown of California, Governor Robert Meyner of New Jersey, and the other less well-known favorite sons. Senator Stuart Symington is dependent mainly on moderate and conservative support, but his candidacy does not pose the sharp alternative that Johnson's does because Symington's unwavering liberal voting record in the Senate and his personal friendships with certain Negro and labor leaders blur the choice.

The nomination of Lyndon Johnson, however, would represent on the part of the Democratic Party a conscious and significant shift to the right. If he were elected, the balance of power within the party would move decisively, as it has during the last several years in the Senate, from dependence on the big cities and the labor unions to a reliance on the Solid South and the regional economic interest groupings of the plains and mountain states. The interests of the Southerners, the Texas and California oil men, the Western ranchers and grazers, and the middle classes of the small towns have always been represented in the Democratic Party but not since Franklin Roosevelt's election in 1932 have they had the controlling voice. In 1936, Roosevelt compelled the repeal of the convention rule requiring a two-thirds majority for the Presidential nomination in order to make certain these interests could not exercise a veto in party affairs.

The nomination of Johnson would represent a reversal of those decisions and a reversion to the pre-1932 state of affairs. As recently as thirty years ago it must be remembered, Democrats were the party of the South and Northwest; New York, Pennsylvania, and California were rock-ribbed Republican strongholds. If the Democrats this year choose a Texan who leads a moderate-conservative coalition, who voted for the Taft-Hartley Act, sabotaged the pro-civil rights rules reform in the Senate, aggressively defends the predatory oil and gas interests, is indifferent to civil liberties issues, and makes "economy first" speeches to the Chamber of Commerce, then they will be delivering their party into the hands of its old possessors. Will 1960 see the clock turned back?

The story of Lyndon Johnson may be regarded from different viewpoints as a political tragedy, a cautionary parable on the cost of success, or a study in the happy adjustment of an intelligent man to intractable circumstance.

WILLIAM V. SHANNON is the Washington correspondent and political columnist for the New York Post.

Johnson Finds Himself In the Political Arena

Johnson is the grandson of an early Texas pioneer who migrated to the west central part of the state in 1846 and founded Johnson City, Texas (current population 650). Johnson's grandfather became a large landowner and cattleman, driving his herds north to market on the historic "long drive" to Abilene and Dodge City in the 1860's and '70's. Sam Johnson, the Senator's father, inherited the land and later turned it to cotton growing for which it was unsuited. He became "land poor," experienced repeated financial difficulties, and finally lost his lands during the depression of the early '30's. He was more successful as a local politician and state legislator. The Senator's mother was the daughter of a minister who became the second president of Baylor University. A graduate of Baylor, she was one of the few women college graduates in that part of Texas at the turn of the century.

Lyndon Johnson was born into this

locally well-known but financially not well-off family on August 27, 1908, the first of five children. His younger brother is in the trucking business; of his three sisters, one is married to a minister, another to a building contractor, and the third to the business manager of the radio station owned by Johnson's wife.

Johnson attended the local public schools and earned average grades. He ran away from home after high school and spent a year drifting through California, working here and there, running an elevator or washing dishes. He returned home and worked as a laborer on a road gang. He was 18, the year was 1926, and he was a tall, big boned, gangly, headstrong youth who did not like books and could not seem to settle down. His mother persuaded him to try college. The family had almost no money and Johnson was uncertain whether he wanted to go, but he finally entered a state teacher's college where the tuition and fees were nominal. He worked his way through doing odd jobs. He dropped out one year to teach grade school to a class of Mexican children in the village of Cotula. After graduating from college, Johnson taught speech and coached debating in a high school in a suburb of Houston. But Johnson had no serious intellectual interests and was too restless to remain a teacher. In 1931, when he was 23, he got a job as secretary to Texas Representative Richard Kleberg, one of the wealthy owners of the huge King Ranch and a political acquaintance of his father. Politics proved to be Johnson's true vocation.

Worked Twice as Hard As Most Secretaries

Representative Wright Patman, Texas Democrat, the genial liberal then at the beginning of his long career in the House, remembers Johnson from those days. He had been a deskmate of the young man's father in the Texas legislature from 1921 to 1924.

"He didn't know much about Washington when he arrived, but he was full of ginger and enthusiasm. He worked very hard, twice as hard as most Congressional secretaries. He put in long hours and went out of his way to help constituents. He was clever and resourceful and in no time was very popular and well-known around Capitol Hill," Patman recalls.

There was then an organization of Congressional secretaries known as "The Little Congress" which met and debated issues in the manner of the real Congress. The top posts traditionally went to those senior in service. After he had been in Washington little more than a year, Johnson organized the kind of coup in which he delights. He rounded up many members who ordinarily did not attend and when the votes were counted, it turned out that Johnson had been elected "speaker."

Johnson spent four years in Kleberg's office, the last two of them overlapping the heady opening days of the New Deal. They were exciting times for a young man in Washington interested in politics, and no young man was more interested than Johnson. He participated in the all-night "bull sessions," listened eagerly to the gossip, and came to know well many of the young men coming into the new alphabetical agencies. Many of those young men such as Paul Porter, Tommy Corcoran, and Justice William O. Douglas remain his close personal friends today.

During this period, Johnson married Claudia Taylor, better known as Ladybird. (When she was an infant, her Negro nurse exclaimed, "Why, she looks just like a little ladybird." The name stuck and Mrs. Johnson now invariably uses it.) Johnson met Ladybird at a party in Austin, Texas, in 1934. They were married after a brief courtship. She is the daughter of a wealthy East Texas family. (East Texas is the fertile, cotton-growing region lying along the Louisiana border which shares the special characteristics of the Deep South and is quite different sociologically from the arid, hilly country in which Johnson grew up.) She inherited from an uncle 3,000 acres of Alabama farm land. She owns a small apartment house and other real estate, but most of her fortune is in radio and television stations in Austin. The Johnsons are now millionaires, although not rich by Texas standards.

Johnson in recent years has bought back in piecemeal fashion several hundred acres of the much larger holdings once owned by his father and grandfather. The roomy, comfortable white ranch house on the LBJ Ranch was his grandfather's house; it has been in the family for more than a hundred years and has been gradually added to by each generation. It stands on a hill commanding a view of the Pedernales River valley below. The humble four-room farmhouse in which Johnson was born still stands a mile down the road.

Johnson Emerges First as An All-Out New Dealer

In 1935, Johnson quit Washington to lay the foundations of a political career in Texas. With the help of Representative Sam Rayburn, another old acquaintance of his father, he obtained an appointment as head of the National Youth Administration in Texas. Johnson made the most of the opportunity. Less than two years later, he was back in Washington as a Congressman, having defeated nine opponents to win a special election in April, 1937. Johnson campaigned as an all-out New Dealer and endorsed President Roosevelt's proposal to reform the Supreme Court. With that measure hanging in the balance, Johnson's victory was of timely psychological importance. Roosevelt, who happened to be fishing off the coast of Texas, made the most of the occasion. He ordered the special train taking him back to Washington to stop at Austin and pick up the new Congressman. There were smiles and handshakes for the photographers and a long, friendly chat on the trip to the Capital. For a rookie Congressman of 28, it was quite a laying on of hands.

Roosevelt took an active interest in Texas politics. It was one of the Southern states in which he was strongest, and several Texas Congressmen were among his most consistent supporters in the House. Always eager to do a little missionary work, he cultivated the young man from Austin and in the years that followed did what he could to build him up. Johnson became one of the New Dealers in the House whom the President invited for a drink in the evening or for Sunday breakfast. He in turn was one of F.D.R.'s loyal lieutenants on Capitol Hill.

"President Roosevelt was like a daddy to me," Johnson says.

In analyzing the relations of Tex-

ans such as Johnson and Sam Rayburn with the New Deal, one must bear in mind the nature of the issues that were paramount in the mid-Thirties and their relation to the social and economic structure of Texas in those years. The oil industry was then in bad shape, plagued with overproduction. Natural gas was still largely regarded as a waste product rather than the enormously profitable commodity it has since become. The active entry into politics of the rich oil men still lay in the future. Texas twenty-five years ago was a predominantly agricultural state. Cotton and beef were king. International trade was important.

Texas, like most agrarian states, had a long-standing distrust of Eastern capitalism. Wall Street was the symbol of high interest rates, discriminatory freight rates, high electric power rates, and protective tariffs that interfered with the international cotton trade. For the best old-fashioned reasons, Texas was liberal and internationalist. Rayburn expressed this liberalism. He and George Norris co-sponsored the laws creating the REA cooperatives. He and another Western liberal, Burton K. Wheeler, co-sponsored the Private Utility Holding Company Act. He backed the SEC to clean up Wall Street. He fought for TVA, farm credit, and reciprocal trade. The labor problem was not acute in Texas, and Texas Congressmen could safely vote for some of Roosevelt's labor legislation. Civil rights was not then a live legislative issue.

As Texas Moved Right, Johnson Moved With It

It was in terms of those issues and against the economic background of Texas a quarter-century ago that Rayburn, Johnson, and others worked in harmony with the New Deal and made their reputations as liberals. In terms of those issues, Johnson is still a liberal. He continues in the main to support REA, TVA, public power development, tax relief for the low income groups, and measures to aid the farmer and the small businessman and to promote conservation.

Those issues, although still important, no longer represent the life-and-death struggles they did in the 1930's. They have receded in relative importance while civil rights, labor legislation, foreign affairs, and monopoly issues have come to the fore in new forms. Texas meanwhile has dramatically changed. The war induced a huge boom in the petroleum industry. Natural gas has become a major consumer fuel, and the interstate pipelines have made it a national industry of prime importance. A

great petrochemical industry mushrooming around Houston and along the Gulf Coast has brought industrialism with all its attendant social and labor stresses to Texas in full force. As the oil boom has spread, almost every acre of Texas farm land is under lease to companies for actual or prospective oil or natural gas drilling. Rightly or wrongly, this has convinced the small farmers that their self-interest is tied to the oil and gas industry. Issues such as tidelands oil and natural gas regulation have a popularity and a political dynamism they did not have before the war. Moreover, the very New Deal reforms Rayburn and Johnson worked for have eased rural discontents and given many Texans a comfortable sense of prosperity and a new conservative outlook.

It is significant that, by coincidence, the effects of these changes began to make themselves felt only after Roosevelt's death. What course Johnson might have pursued if his great patron had lived is an interesting subject for speculation. What course he actually did take is clear. He bent with the pressures. As Texas changed so did he.

A shrewd Washington observer summed it up this way: "You know the couplet:

Here lies the body of John McGray.
He died defending the right of way.

"Well, that is not Lyndon Johnson. He will fight as long as he thinks he has a fair chance of winning, but he is not going to die defending anybody's right of way."

Johnson appears to have reached a definite turn in the road in 1946. In the spring of that year, the Truman Administration was making a desperate effort to save price controls. Protagonists for various special interests were tearing the bill apart in Congress by writing in special amendments. One amendment, solidly backed by the lobbyists for the oil companies, would have had the effect of raising the ceiling price on oil by 25 cents a barrel. Pressure for the amendment was strong. Speaker Rayburn made one of his rare appearances in the well of the House to plead for its passage. On the roll call, only two Texas Congressmen voted against it. One of them was Lyndon Johnson.

It was an act of high political courage. It was Johnson's last open defiance of the oil interests that in the decade and a half since the war have exercised a dominant role in Texas politics. Johnson had never been close to the oil men. Even today, he is not regarded by them as one of their own or entirely "safe," but in recent years he had made his peace with them. His supporters say it was an inevitable price that had to be paid if his larger ambitions were to be fulfilled.

That same spring, on May 17, 1946, the House passed a resolution appropriating $75,000 for further investigations by the Un-American Activities Committee. The vote was 240 to 81. Johnson was one of the 81. For the next several years, opponents in Texas exploited this vote to show he was "soft on communism." Johnson did not vote that way again.

Johnson served in the House from 1937 to 1948. Solidly entrenched in his district, he faced sizeable opposition only once. But his great ambition was to go to the Senate. He ran twice, once in a special election in 1941 when he narrowly lost and again in 1948 when, by an even narrower margin, he won. The difference between the two campaigns is instructive. In 1941, Johnson announced his candidacy from the steps of the White

House after an interview with Roosevelt. The President endorsed him as a "very close and old friend." Billboards were posted across the state depicting Roosevelt and Johnson shaking hands. Johnson vigorously defended the New Deal. His opponents, Representative Martin Dies and Governor W. Lee ("Pass the Biscuits, Pappy") O'Daniel, were critics of the Roosevelt Administration. Johnson at first appeared to be the winner, but complete returns did not come in for four days. "Corrections" in the final returns mostly involved shifting votes from Dies, a poor third, to O'Daniel, a close second. The final vote showed O'Daniel the winner by 1311 votes. Johnson was convinced he had been "counted out." He vowed that next time would be different.

In 1948, O'Daniel chose not to run for reelection. Conservatives backed Governor "Coke" Stevenson. Johnson entered the race against him. The line-up in this fight was much different from the straight liberal-conservative clash which had taken place seven years earlier. President Truman, running hard for reelection himself, had no influence in Texas. The announcement from the White House steps and the Presidential endorsement were as much ancient history as high-button shoes. Johnson was strictly on his own.

Moreover, organized labor was hostile or indifferent to him. Johnson had voted for the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947. Stevenson promised to vote for its repeal. (This was a safe promise for a Texas conservative because the state has reactionary anti-labor laws which go well beyond anything called for by the Taft-Hartley law. Mere repeal of the federal law would not touch these Texas statutes.) The Texas Federation of Labor endorsed Stevenson. The CIO endorsed neither. Although Stevenson was the heavy favorite of the oil interests, Johnson had done a little proselytizing in that quarter himself and had the support of some oil men, including multi-millionaire Sid Richardson. The issues were blurred and the outcome very much in doubt. With almost all the votes in, Johnson was slightly behind until "re-canvassing" in a couple of counties put him across by 87 votes. The Stevenson forces cried "fraud," there was a suit in federal court (subsequently dismissed), but Johnson took office. His only scar was the derisive nickname, "Landslide Lyndon."

In the Senate, Johnson quickly found where the center of gravity was—in the cohesive Southern bloc. He began to develop useful connections with Senator Richard Russell of Georgia and other Southerners. In the Senate of 1949-50, Northerners held the command posts; Scott Lucas of Illinois was majority leader and Francis Myers of Pennsylvania was majority whip. When both were defeated for reelection in 1950, the Southerners, whose relative power always rises as the total Democratic strength shrinks, moved quickly to install Senator Ernest McFarland of Arizona, an amiable front man, as the new leader. Johnson became his whip. When McFarland bit the dust in the first Eisenhower landslide two years later, Johnson stepped up to replace him. At 44, he was the youngest Democratic floor leader in history.

Three Stages in His Career as Floor Leader

Johnson's career as floor leader during the past seven years has passed through three stages. In 1953-54, the Democrats were in the minority. The dominant issue was McCarthyism. Johnson pursued a deliberate policy of masterly inactivity. He decided that McCarthy could eventually be destroyed only when the Republican Administration and a substantial section of the Republican Party turned against him. There was a certain justice in this strategy since it was the Republicans who had reaped the partisan benefit from McCarthy's activities. Moreover, McCarthy had contended that if he had control of a committee, had subpoena powers, had a staff, and could get at the secret government files, he could prove his charges of Communists in government. Secondly, he had contended that the Democratic opposition to him was inspired by narrow partisanship. The Democrats, he said, were covering up to protect Communists in their ranks. In 1953, McCarthy became a committee chairman. Johnson decided the best Democratic Party strategy was to leave McCarthy alone, let him have his staff, let him go without partisan criticism. McCarthy would do some damage in the interim but the Democrats could not prevent that.

It was an unheroic approach to the problem, but in terms of the strictly selfish interests of the Democratic Party, it proved justified. McCarthy and the Eisenhower Administration, after more than a year of guerrilla warfare and appeasement, finally blundered into the decisive struggle of the Army-McCarthy hearings in which McCarthy's prestige was broken. It was a time of squalor and of incalculable cost to the nation's reputation, but the blame lies on the doorstep of the President of the United States, not with Lyndon Johnson.

When the Democrats took control of the Senate in the 1954 elections, the second stage of Johnson's career as Senate leader began. There are two conceptions of a party floor leader's responsibility. One view holds that the leader is the spokesman of the Party at large, that he should state the viewpoint of the Party's majority, attempt to rally as much support for it as possible, and make a clear-cut record for the next election. This was the course followed by Senator Alben Barkley, the best floor leader of recent times, when he battled with Senator Taft in the Republican 80th Congress of 1947-48.

The alternative view is that the leader, because of the inherent divisions within the party, must serve primarily as a bridge between factions and seek compromise solutions in the framework of what is immediately possible. The first view looks to the next election and to the realities of voting strength in the nation; the second looks to the realities of voting strength within the four walls of the Senate.

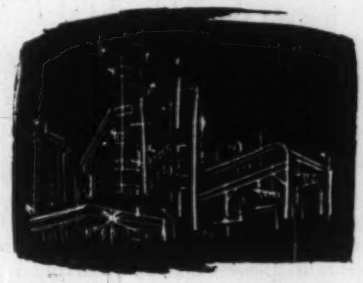
Both viewpoints obviously have some validity, and a good leader must,

as Barkley did, take both into account. (But it cannot be ignored that the implications of the first are liberal because it is a view which stresses the obligation to the national party; the implications of the second view are conservative because it stresses fidelity to the existing balance of power in the Senate in which the influence of the conservative South is usually overrepresented.) Johnson has followed the latter approach. He has ignored the need of the national Party to generate issues for the next Presidential election. That is the meaning behind his dictum: "We are here to pass laws and not make issues."

During the period from 1954 to 1958, when the Democrats controlled the Senate by only one or two votes, it could reasonably be argued that Johnson had no choice except to follow a cautious, middle-of-the-road course. As he was fond of pointing out in private conversations, he led a deeply-divided party, having to work with Paul Douglas and Harry Flood Byrd, with Hubert Humphrey and Strom Thurmond. With such a small majority, he had little margin for maneuver. During these years, he built the legend of himself as a legislative magician. With the exception of Senators Byrd and Robertson of Virginia and Holland of Florida, he several times led a united party on such issues as the 1954 recommittal of the amended Taft-Hartley Act, which would have made the law more punitive against labor, the unsuccessful fight in 1954 to cut taxes for those in low brackets, and various farm and housing bills. He delighted in his success in putting through the increase in the minimum wage to a dollar an hour after almost no debate.

Johnson believes debate is a waste of time. He tries constantly to reconcile differences off the floor. He frequently refuses to bring up bills when he cannot be sure they will pass. He likes every legislative issue thoroughly stage-managed in advance. As his skill has grown with experience, Johnson has come to regard angry floor controversy as a sign of personal failure and public disagreement a matter of reproach. There must be no major defeats, no public retreats, no open failures. Johnson has never suffered a serious defeat on the floor during seven years as leader because he has never risked a setback. His personal legend is built around a cult of unbroken success.

The one great positive result of this complex of caution and calculation is the Civil Rights Act of 1957. It is not a comprehensive measure, but it is the first piece of civil rights legislation to become law in eighty



years and, within its limits, it is a substantial achievement.

The third stage of Johnson's leadership career began after the mid-term elections of 1958 gave the Democrats their biggest majority in twenty years. For the first time, Johnson had a real, rather than a nominal, working majority. He was no longer dependent upon the Byrds and the Eastlands to achieve his political effects. The anticlimactic result was the almost unparalleled fiasco of the 1959 session. On the whole range of domestic measures from housing, depressed areas, and education to airports, unemployment relief, taxes, and labor, the most heavily Democratic Senate since 1936 either made no headway or merely inched forward. It became clear that Johnson in previous years had not been a liberal forced by circumstance to follow an opportune course of expediencies and compromises. At some point more than a dozen years ago, Johnson resolved the conflict between his liberal tendencies and the pressure of the conservative Texas environment. He made his peace with the status quo and became a practical man. He became, in fact though not in name, a conservative.

The only major piece of legislation to come out of the last session of Congress was the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Bill curbing labor unions. The history of that legislative battle is familiar. The Senate passed the original Kennedy Bill by 90 to 1. By a close vote, the House substituted the severe Landrum-Griffin Bill. After a protracted House-Senate conference, the Senate conferees yielded on most disputed points and the bill became law. Johnson was active at two critical moments. When the Landrum-Griffin Bill first came up in the House, several Texas Congressmen were on the fence. Speaker Rayburn was fighting the bill, but the pressure from businessmen's organizations back home was intense. Johnson's advice to these Congressmen was: "Vote your own district." This is legitimate advice on matters of local and regional interest; on a question of national importance, it is a counsel of cowardice. Twenty out of twenty-four Texas Democrats voted for Landrum-Griffin. When the measure reached the Senate-House conference, Johnson might have stood firm for the Senate bill and promised Kennedy and the other managers of the bill that he would rally maximum support for their position if they chose to return to the Senate for renewed instructions. Instead, Johnson went along with the pressure for immediate action. The substance of his advice to Kennedy was: "Do the best you can, but we must pass a labor bill this session."

Johnson Is the Best Conservative Available

Johnson, at 51, is at the height of his powers. He seems to have recovered completely from the severe heart attack he suffered in 1955. He is once again working at a prodigious rate. He regularly works twelve to fifteen hours a day. He is an inveterate user of the telephone, often placing a flurry of long-distance calls. Johnson is a vain man. This shows itself in his luxurious, ornate office which is Mussolini-sized and Hollywood-lighted and in his fondness for expensive clothes. He cheerfully admits not having read a book in years. (But this is not uncommon among politicians. Senator Kennedy and Adlai Stevenson are exceptions in this regard.) Johnson is so preoccupied reading newspapers, magazines, bills, and memoranda about pending political and legislative problems that he has no time during the day to read books. Not being an intellectual man, he turns not to books for relaxation but to conversation and to simple games

like dominoes. He has no hobbies or non-political interests. He used to play golf occasionally but it bored him. He now goes walking or hunting on his ranch because his doctor recommends getting outdoors.

Johnson can be a cruel man; he demonstrated that by the part he played in the ruthless, successful fight against the reconfirmation of Leland Olds as chairman of the Federal Power Commission in 1949. He is fantastically sensitive to criticism, much more so than the ordinary politician. He does not, for example, like references to his skill as a "back-room manipulator" because he thinks phrases of this kind make him sound sinister. He is deeply afraid of defeat: he would like to be President, but he will not campaign openly and aggressively for the nomination because he could not bear to lose; to him defeat is almost synonymous with humiliation.

Over the years, Johnson has become indifferent to issues and problems for their own sake; they have become mere counters in the endless political game he plays. It is impossible, for example, to imagine Johnson boldly declaring the United States should cease H-bomb testing as Stevenson proposed in 1956 simply because he thought it was the right position and he should speak out. Johnson always asks first: "Is it politically feasible now?" If the answer is in the negative, he handles the problem with a platitude.

If the country wishes to have a conservative President for another four years, Lyndon Johnson is unquestionably the best available. He is tougher and abler than Stuart Symington. He has more self-confidence and a steadier sense of responsibility than Richard Nixon. He would work harder and try harder and understand the job better than does President Eisenhower. The business community and its allied conservative interests could rest easy, knowing that nothing liberal or unprecedented would be done while Johnson was in the White House, just as nothing surprisingly liberal has been done in the Senate these past seven years. But a major difficulty with the Johnson candidacy is that the country does not ordinarily turn to the Democratic Party when it wants a conservative President.

The New Economic Crisis

by SENATOR ESTES KEFAUVER

THE REAL SIGNIFICANCE of the steel strike of 1959 (which will perhaps become known as that of 1959-1960) is that it dramatizes a shift in the locus of power that is occurring not only in steel but in other industries as well. The power of management is on the ascendancy; the power of labor is on the wane; the effectiveness of competition, the force presumed to protect consumers, has lapsed into a state of innocuous desuetude.

As a result, old solutions are no longer adequate. Issues are arising which transcend what can be accomplished by collective bargaining, conciliation, mediation, arbitration, persuasion, government by admonition, or appeals to patriotism.

Several days after he had assumed his assignment as head of the President's fact-finding board on steel, Dr. George W. Taylor complained that even at that late date no one knew what the issues were.

As chairman of the Senate's Subcommittee on Anti-trust and Monopoly, I believe I can say that most of the members of the Subcommittee—indeed, any one who would take the time to read the four volumes of hearings and the report on steel issued by our Subcommittee, as well as other material bearing on steel which I have from time to time put in the record—would pretty well know what the issues are. The position of management *vis-a-vis* labor has so improved that labor does not feel that any union, worthy of the name, can possibly accept what management has chosen to offer. The position of management *vis-a-vis* the consumer has become so superior that apparently the steel companies feel they have nothing to fear from any price rise, no matter how great, nor from any prosecution under the anti-trust laws, as long as they are not stupid enough to put their agreement into writing.

The improved position of management over labor has come about primarily as a result of three underlying economic trends: the increase in productivity, the existence at present price levels of sizable excess capacity, and the reduction in the "break-even" point.

Figures put into the hearings of the Anti-trust Subcommittee by R. Conrad Cooper, vice-president of U. S. Steel, indicate that between 1950 and 1955 steel output per thousand man-hours rose at an average annual rate of 3.5 per cent a year. Dr. Gardiner C. Means, the well-known economist, placed the rate of increase at four per cent. To the first half of 1959 the annual rate of increase is more than four per cent for any period beginning with 1951 or later. A four per cent increase in productivity compounded annually means that in five years the same labor force would be producing 22 per cent and in 10 years 48 per cent more steel. Or to put it conversely, at that rate of increase a given amount of steel that it takes 100 workers to produce today could be turned out by 82 workers in five years and by only 68 workers in ten years.

Less well recognized but equally

ESTES KEFAUVER, Democratic Senator from Tennessee, has become one of the nation's foremost authorities on the steel industry as the result of his intensive work as chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee's Subcommittee on Anti-Trust and Monopoly.

important in strengthening the hand of management has been the emergence of a substantial excess of steel capacity over demand at present prices. Upon reflection, the existence of this surplus should be self-evident from the fact that in 1959, six and a half months of steel production (at slightly less than 90 per cent of capacity) was sufficient to meet ten months' requirements of an economy operating at a relatively high level. It was not until November that the shortage of steel began seriously to curtail economic activity. In the preceding three and a half months the inventories of steel stockpiled during the first half of the year were sufficient to meet virtually all the economy's demands.

The development of this surplus capacity is the result of a sharp increase in steel-making capacity during the Fifties accompanied by an extremely slow growth in the economy as a whole. Thus, while steel ingot capacity rose 26 per cent between 1953 and 1958, *real* gross national product increased only eight per cent. Moreover, certain formerly important areas of steel consumption have undergone actual contraction. Reflecting the change in the nature of weapons, the amount of steel absorbed by ordnance and other military uses has fallen steeply. As part of their general retrenchment, the railroads have been curtailing their purchases of steel. The nation's most important steel-consuming industry, automobiles, has never matched its record of 7.9 million cars produced in 1955 and now regards as a "good" year an output of six million cars, an increasing proportion of which will be smaller autos using less steel.

The steel industry has already virtually priced itself out of world markets and has indeed invited expansion of imports. Up to the time of the steel strike exports of steel were at their lowest while imports were at their highest level in seven years. Import tonnage was running ahead of exports for the first time in a generation. Moreover, imports of fabricated goods such as automobiles and machinery, made largely of steel, have also surpassed exports in the last year or two, and are continuing to gain at the expense of exports.

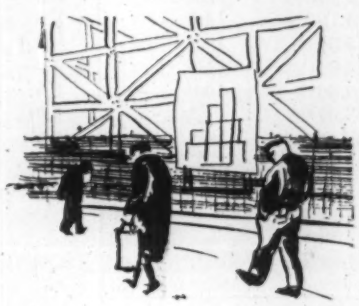
Perhaps anticipating the day when their capacity would be well in excess of demand, the steel companies have been altering their cost-price-profit relationships in such a way as to reduce their "break-even" points and make possible the attainment of a satisfactory profit rate at only a moderate level of capacity utilization. In the recession year of 1958, while operating at only some 60 per cent of capacity, the steel industry made a profit rate on its net worth, after taxes, of nine per cent; U. S. Steel alone made more than ten per cent. On the basis of relationships between operating rate and profit rate which have prevailed over many years, it would formerly have been necessary to operate in excess of 80 per cent to have attained these profit rates.

The decline in U. S. Steel's break-even point, i.e., the point at which it passes from the red into the black, has been brought out in hearings before the Anti-trust Subcommittee by Fred Gardner, a recognized authority on the subject of break-even analysis:

Year	% Break-even to Output
1937-38	76%
1947	50%
1956	42%
1958	41%

Since in 1958 the steel industry was operating at only 60 per cent of capacity, its break-even point in relation to capacity was even lower than in relation to output. Gardner estimated that the 41 per cent break-even point in relation to output for that year represented the unbelievably low level of less than 30 per cent in relation to capacity.

While labor is very much aware of these developments, there is little it can do about them, except to cite their existence as further justification for a substantial wage increase. The union knows that with the continuing increase in productivity, it will have fewer members and there will be more ex-steel workers looking for jobs. It knows that the industry can leave much of its capacity—and workers—unused and still meet the economy's need for steel. And it knows that even with a substantial proportion of its capacity—and workers—unutilized, the industry can still make a handsome profit. But by their nature these developments are technical matters and hard to get across to the public—a fact which adds further to labor's mounting sense of frustration.



The improvement of management's position *vis-a-vis* the consumer is, if anything, even greater than its improvement with regard to labor. The practice of accompanying a wage settlement with a price increase at least twice as great as the cost of the wage increase has become so firmly rooted in the industry's behavior that this year the steel companies raised prices to small buyers even *before* the strike. This was accomplished by changing their method of computing quantity discounts on shipments of steel from warehouses. In the past it was the total quantity of steel ordered, regardless of the number of different steel products involved in the order, which determined the amount of the discount that could be secured. Under the new method it is the quantity called for of each steel product, not the total quantity of the order, that determines the size of the discount.

To illustrate, take the case of a small buyer who places an order for 200 pounds each for five different steel products. In the past he would have obtained the quantity discount applicable to 1,000 pounds, and thus would have paid a price of around 11 or 12 cents a pound. Now, however, because he is no longer permitted to aggregate the tonnage, he gets only the limited discount applicable to shipments of 200 pounds, which is generally a price of around 17 to 18 cents. As can readily be seen, the increase in total cost to such a buyer is quite substantial.

The final settlement of the current strike may or may not be followed by an increase in the base prices. But there are a variety of ways of making indirect or hidden price increases—raising the so-called "extras," chang-

ing product definitions and classifications, etc.

Under the present Republican Administration it is clear that consumers can expect no protection from the anti-trust agencies. In hearings before the Anti-trust Subcommittee I referred to the industry's "history of identical price increases made by different companies with different costs at a time of substantial unused capacity and in an industry in which one firm clearly exercises a position of leadership." I then asked, "How could this recent steel price increase have occurred without there being a conspiracy, either express or implied, or monopoly control over the industry, or both?"

The head of one of the agencies manifested no concern whatever on the grounds that the increase stemmed from a wage increase and that his agency had no jurisdiction over a wage increase. The head of the other agency agreed that the circumstances were suspicious but felt that he had no basis for a case unless he came into possession of a formal written agreement to fix prices—something which the industry's lawyers have been zealously avoiding for a long time.

Against this background, what are the probabilities with respect to the eventual settlement of the strike? Of one thing we can be certain. There will be no price reduction. Even though this is the step which would most benefit the national interest, since over the long run it would increase the demand for steel products and thus tend to raise production and employment, and even though the industry's profits are such as to permit a substantial price reduction, the most that consumers can reasonably hope for under present circumstances is price stability.

That the steel companies could well afford to lower the price is indicated by the fact that on an annual basis the industry's rate of return on net worth after taxes was 15 per cent in the first half of 1959, which is higher than for any other year since 1920, with the one exception of the Korean conflict year of 1950. The accompanying table shows, for each of the industry's eight largest producers representing 78 per cent of total ingot production, their profit performance for 1953 and the first half of 1959, both periods of high operations (95 per cent in 1953, 88 per cent in 1959). Profits are compared on the basis of three measures: as a percentage of net worth, as a percentage of sales, and per ton of finished steel shipped.

As a group the average profit rate for these eight companies rose from 11.3 per cent to 16.2 per cent on net worth and from 5.9 per cent to 9 per cent on sales. For the six companies for which profits per ton shipped can be computed, the increase was from $9.07 to $17.46. Of the 22 individual comparisons shown on the table, in all but five the increase was more than a third.

More likely than a price reduction, though somewhat less likely than in the past, is a price increase. The prospect that the historical process of raising wage costs one dollar and steel prices two may be abandoned this year stems from greater public awareness that it has been the consumers who have been footing the bill. I would like to think that the often tedious and unspectacular work of our Subcommittee has contributed to this greater awareness. Ironically, the steel companies have recently been making their own contribution. Confronted with the demand for a wage increase, the steel companies have become almost evangelical in denouncing the evils of inflation.

But it was not always so. In defending the industry's price increase of $6 a ton in July 1957, Roger Blough, when testifying before our Subcommittee, went to considerable lengths to minimize the effect of a steel price increase upon the economy, and stated at one point that the price advance would affect the average family's budget by "less than one cent a day, or not even enough to buy one cigarette."

Apparently Blough and the other members of the steel industry are now mindful of the spurious nature of that type of estimate. They seem to have recognized the absurdity of trying to argue that an increase in the price of the nation's basic material has no appreciable effect on inflation.

Comparison of Steel Profits—1953-1959

Here is a comparison of three measures of profits of the eight largest steel companies for the year 1953 and the first half of 1959.

		Profits (after Taxes)		
		Per ton Shipped	As % of Net Worth[1]	As % of Sales
U.S. Steel	1953	$ 8.85	9.9%	5.7%
	1959	18.88	16.7	10.1
Bethlehem	1953	10.53	13.9	6.4
	1959	15.95	15.1	8.5
Republic	1953	7.27	12.5	5.0
	1959	16.74	18.8	8.6
Jones & Laughlin	1953	7.25	8.5	4.9
	1959	n.a.	15.6	7.6
National	1953	n.a.	14.2	7.8
	1959	14.69	17.4	9.0
Youngstown	1953	8.39	9.8	5.6
	1959	12.79	12.4	6.8
Inland	1953	9.13	14.0	5.9
	1959	17.88	19.4	9.0
Armco	1953	10.04	11.1	5.8
	1959	19.30	15.9	8.5
Avg. 8 companies	1953	$ 9.07[2]	11.3%	5.9%
	1959	17.46[2]	16.2	9.0

[1] *Average of beginning and end of year except for 1959 (first half) which is as of 12/31/58.*

[2] *Excludes Jones & Laughlin and National.*

Source: Computed from Moody's Industrial Manual.

The final possibility is no price rise accompanied by a modest increase in wages. This would represent a splitting between management and labor of the gains in productivity made possible by scientific progress. But is it right and proper that only labor and mangement should be the beneficiaries of technological progress? What of the consumer interest?

This brings to the fore a fundamental issue: how in non-competitive industries, such as steel, can an orderly procedure be devised to bring about an equitable distribution among labor, management, and the consuming public of productivity gains made possible by scientific progress? Labor lays claim to these gains on the grounds that it is labor which is displaced by technological progress. Management bases its claims on the grounds that the installation of new and better machinery and equipment requires greater profits. But the consumer has a claim, too, on the grounds that there is no purpose to scientific progress in industry unless it ultimately results in lower prices or better products.

In the past there has been no pressing need to concern ourselves with this problem. Under the theory of competition, on which our public policy toward industry has been based, the problem simply does not arise. It is assumed that as soon as any firm in a competitive industry makes an improvement which reduces its costs, it will make a corresponding reduction in price. The other firms will either have to make the improvement themselves or lose their business to the innovator. In any event the pioneering company gains the reward of increased business at least for a time, while the consumer receives the benefit of the innovation in the form of a lower price.

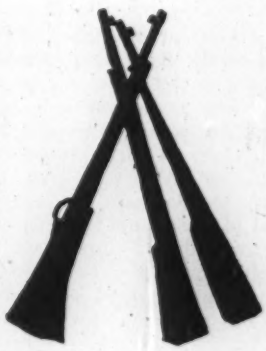
But all this presumes the existence of price competition. And where there is no price competition, as in the steel industry, the theory is simply not applicable.

The question of how to bring about an equitable distribution of the technological gains in non-competitive industries is thus essentially a new problem. It is a problem for which there is no existing public policy. It is a problem which the whole Congress must face up to in the not too distant future.

Peace, It's Terrible!

by STUART CHASE

This is the first of a series of two articles exploring the economic consequences of peace. The second, which will appear next month, will propose suggested adjustments for the American economy "if peace breaks out." Mr. Chase is one of the nation's foremost social analysts, has served as expert consultant to management, labor, and the federal government. He is the author of many books including Goals for America, The Economy of Abundance, Idle Money, Idle Men, *and soon to be published,* Program for Americans.—THE EDITORS.



I HAPPENED to be in Moscow in 1928 when the first Five-Year Plan was being prepared, and spent a week in a great barn of a building interviewing Gosplan economists, geographers, statisticians, and engineers. The project looked rather shaky, but I could not help admiring the energy and confidence with which it was attacked. At that time production statistics, such as they were, showed the Russian economy about at the level of 1914, just before World War I.

Now look at the Soviet Union! It is pushing the U. S. economy on various fronts, and is way ahead on missiles and space exploration. Five-Year Plans have succeeded one another, each boosting production—except during the war. Now the Russians are working on a Seven-Year Plan, and feeling most optimistic about it. If I returned to that old Gosplan building (there is probably a new one now), would I find the same driving energy? Most travelers report that I would.

The formula behind the success of these plans is simple: to keep citizens on the lowest level of consumption they will tolerate, and use the labor and materials so saved for capital expansion—factories, mines, hydro-electric dams, scientific laboratories, universities, and military installations, especially the last. Take capital formation out of Ivan's hide, not from foreign loans. China is trying the same formula in even more ruthless terms.

With all these Five-Year and Seven-Year Plans on the record, it is not surprising that Premier Nikita Khrushchev comes forward with a Four-Year Plan for world disarmament, broached in person at the United Nations in New York when he was here last September. All the smart money laughed off his proposal as more Soviet propaganda. But as *The Progressive* pointed out, Adlai

Stevenson was not disposed to laugh it off. After talking to Khrushchev at the Garst farm in Iowa Stevenson warned:

> "We must pay attention, cautiously but carefully, to what Khrushchev says about disarmament because he has a lot to say about the life and death of all of us. And I wish we could learn that with the Communists, the important thing is not always whether they are sincere but whether they are serious."

They were serious about that grandiose initial economic Five-Year Plan, and perhaps they are serious about their world disarmament plan. Let us assume that they are. Let us assume they succeed in persuading the United Nations to sponsor it, and administer it with adequate systems of inspection. What is likely to happen on the American economic front?

We need no crystal ball to see what will happen on the Russian economic front. Nothing unfortunate will happen at all. The transition will be planned well in advance—indeed is probably already in the blueprint stage, just in case. With tight control of allocation, the Russians can swing from bombs to butter not only without much trouble but, I suspect, with a considerable sense of relief. They will save perhaps a third of their manpower and raw materials, which can then be used to raise living standards at home, and to step up aid to underdeveloped countries abroad, thus putting additional economic heat on Uncle Sam.

And what will Uncle Sam be doing? He can do some forward planning too, though it need not be in so tough a fashion, or he can, I'm afraid, fall flat on his face. Remember, we are assuming that disarmament, with adequate inspection, goes through and remains indefinitely in force. Stockpiles of atomic bombs are decontaminated, their materials hopefully transferred to peacetime uses such as power plants. All other weaponry is scrapped except for the use of internal police forces.

Peace, save for revolutions like Castro's, or small brush fire scrimmages in remote parts, is assured. Let me repeat that; some of my readers may have difficulty in imagining it: *Peace is assured for the indefinite future.* I make the point because of the results of a sidewalk poll I am now conducting. I ask people I meet, on all income levels: "Do you think another world war is probable or improbable?" More than half of my sample have so far said "probable"—which indicates a certain failure of imagination. If our leaders, like my sidewalk sample, think a big war probable, we are not going to disarm, and there is no economic problem. A biological problem remains, however, in that another big war will end civilization, and perhaps so damage the pool of genes that the race itself will not survive.

With strontium 90 firmly in the calculations, historical analogies are outdated. Walter Millis states the case with brevity and justice when he says: "The objective of a big war is sure to be defeated by the war itself." History now can never repeat itself—if indeed it ever could. However, it may still be instructive to glance at the historical record.

There was a depression after the demobilization of the Civil War, and another after World War I, neither of them severe. Following World War II, despite gloomy predictions on the part of most economists—including myself—very little unemployment accompanied the shift from guns to butter. Why? For two good reasons. Wartime controls had forced citizens to save a large fraction of their income, while depriving them of all but the most essential consumer goods. The old jalopy had to bump along on half a gallon of gas, year after year. So when peace broke out, people had the money and the urge, and a roaring urge it was, to buy the goods they had been denied for four long years. Since many had been on relief before Pearl Harbor, the urge had been building up even longer than the duration of the war. With such a huge market ready made, industry needed no help from Madison Avenue to retool and prepare for an avalanche of consumer goods, especially durables.

Well, why could not the happy transition of 1946 be repeated when, as we are assuming, the Cold War ends? Because consumers have neither the roaring urge nor the excess cash. Consumer credit—meaning cars and other durables unpaid for—is at an all-time peak. There are needs in plenty, some of them exceedingly acute, but they are not for vendible consumer goods.

Some economists and statesmen are already considering the economic problem to be faced when peace breaks out—with very little public attention so far. Professor Seymour Harris of Harvard has made some calculations, and so has Representative Chester Bowles. Bowles' testimony is especially relevant because he took a responsible role in the successful 1945-46 shift from war to peace. He tells how 45 per cent of U.S. industry retooled for peace over an 18-month period, and as a member of the War Production Board he helped to plan the transition. Today the percentage that would need retooling is closer to 15 than to 45, but the backlog of needs, Bowles says, is now in public services, not in consumer goods, and calls for some careful advance planning.

Professor Harris estimates that from 1941 through 1959, one dollar out of seven in the grand total of U.S. production has gone for war and defense. The gross national product during these 18 years reached the stupendous total of more than 5 *trillion* dollars. War outlays over the same period totaled more than 700

billion dollars—or about one-seventh.

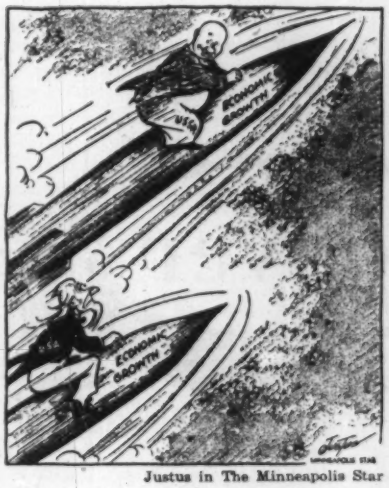
Today, total defense outlays, says Harris, amount to $46 billion a year. If they were eliminated, demand would have to be found for an equivalent sum to keep employment at 1959 levels. In addition, because of the rise in population, annual output should increase by $15 to $20 billion over the year before. "We must [consume] this additional amount of goods each year if we are to avoid unemployment." Adding $15 billion to the $46 billion, it follows that about $60 billion a year will be the gap to be filled if disarmament is total. If disarmament is partial—say the $46 billion is cut 50 per cent to $23 billion—the gap then to be filled will be $23 plus $15, or about $40 billion a year, including the annual increment required by population growth.

If 70 million workers (all the "gainfully employed") now provide $450 billion of goods and services a year—Gross National Product—I estimate that each is accountable for an average of $6,000 or more. Thus if the G.N.P. is cut $60 billion, some 10 million workers would lose their jobs (about 15 per cent of the gainfully employed); if it is cut $40 billion, nearly seven million workers would be out on the street (10 per cent of the gainfully employed).

These figures are rough, but they give at least an idea of the magnitude of the problem. It might be six million unemployed, it might be 12 million, depending on the disarmament agreement. Whatever the figure, there is no possibility of business-as-usual filling the gap. Suppose we wake up some bright morning to the sound of bells. After the dancing in the streets, that sound will turn to a knell, as the stock market dives toward the center of the earth.

Not many citizens are aware of the statistics, but most of us are aware of the problem, even if we believe that war will some day come again. It is a nasty problem, one we prefer not thinking about. Somebody, we hope, will do something—or perhaps disarmament will prove a will-o'-the-wisp. "We've always had wars and always will," say some of the respondents in my sidewalk poll.

How many of us have faced the alternatives seriously and really want to disarm? Does a worker in the air-



Justus in The Minneapolis Star

Super Sputnik

plane industry, 90 per cent dependent on government orders? Does a company president, who fears that disarmament is going to put his corporation out of business? Does an Army major, who thinks it will be hard to find a civilian job? How do the wives of these men feel about it? At the best, both women and men feel ambivalent about the pursuit of peace and are inclined tacitly to accept the ultimate inevitability of war. Meanwhile the Cold War permits them to eat their cake and have it too.

Morris Rubin reports, after a swing around the country on a lecture trip, that audiences freeze up when he begins to argue for disarmament. "What happens to the job, the mortgage, and the kids?" they ask. Will a Senator from New England come out for the cancellation of defense contracts in his district? How will that formidable power center, the Pentagon, react to the prospect of closing Annapolis, West Point, and the new Air Force Academy?

A moment's consideration makes it perfectly clear that peace, so wonderful in theory, may be terrible in practice for a great many Americans, for an indefinite period. Millions of them have a deeply vested interest in the defense establishment.

I agree with Seymour Harris that American production has *not* been dependent on munitions for prosperity over the generations—contrary to the Marxian postulate—but it *has* been dependent at certain limited times and this is one of them. Another began in 1939; eight million unemployed all found their way, by 1942, either into war industry or into the armed forces.

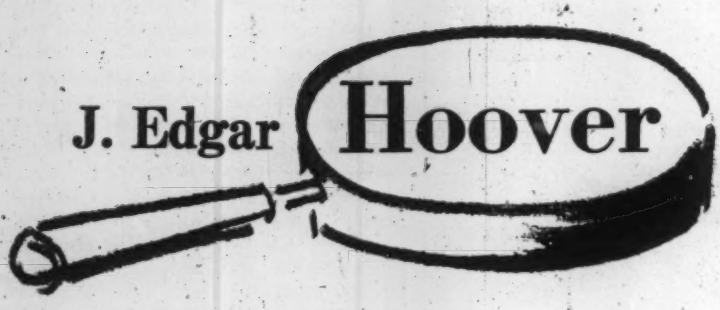
Fortunately the country had elaborate plans for mobilization in 1939, as the threat of war in Europe intensified. I say fortunately, because the plans expedited the grim transference when it came. The Pentagon, I understand, has complete and elaborate plans right now for blowing up the world, using not only fission and fusion but gases and germs. But if anybody has any plans for the day peace breaks out, they are a remarkably well-kept secret.

Yet it is more vital than ever before that we start planning without delay. The shift from a war to peace economy in 1946 was accomplished swiftly because there was a tremendous pent-up buying power for consumer goods. A similar economic shift in Russia today would presumably move with great ease, since the austerity of the Soviet citizen's life provides an almost unlimited market for consumer goods.

But in the United States today, a large-scale economic shift away from armaments will require almost a revolution in our economic concepts. We have reached an era of "private opulence and public squalor." Our vital need is not for more and more consumer goods supplied by private enterprise, but for a wide range of social "goods" that can be created only in the public sector (from which private industry would nevertheless profit substantially). While we have been saturating ourselves with fintail cars, motels, movies, juke boxes, outboard motors, cosmetics, Miami Beach, Las Vegas, filter-tips, quiz programs, and comics, we have neglected education, health research, urban redevelopment, river pollution, parks and public beaches, airports, flood control, hospitals, conservation—a host of social services essential to the national well being and to the individual enjoyment of our personal wealth.

Next month, I plan to sketch how we might go about laying the groundwork for the hopeful transition from Cold War to peace.

J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI



This is the second of a series of three articles on J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI. The articles are adapted from a 12-part presentation recently published by the New York Post. *The original series was prepared by the* Post *with the assistance of staff members William Dufty, Daniel Gelman, Edward Kosner, Irving Lieberman, Carl J. Pelleck, and Joseph Barry.*—THE EDITORS.

"In time . . . the scores of agents whom I was constantly working with began to take form for me as human beings. I began to know about their gripes and special interests, their families, their troubles and their hopes. It is in those human terms, which few ever think of, rather than its organizational expertness, which everybody knows about, that my memory of the FBI is most personal and most grateful."

—WHITTAKER CHAMBERS

HARRY GERSH did not get to know the two FBI men in human terms or in terms of organizational expertness. Maybe that's why he decided to write about the experience of meeting them. He called his essay "The Day the FBI Came to Our House." It was a thoughtful, soft-voiced article but its points were perfectly clear:

One—That the two agents didn't know very much about Communism, and

Two—That the hour-and-a-half interview didn't leave Gersh and his family with a very comfortable feeling.

"I don't know how the FBI felt about it," he later noted, "but we were a little frightened, a little apprehensive, a little confused."

The men had come to question him and, more particularly, his wife, about movie star John Garfield. Twenty years before, when Mrs. Gersh was 16, Garfield had been her boy friend. In April, 1951, Garfield told the House Un-American Activities Committee that he had never been a Communist. The Committee suspected perjury; the FBI was investigating.

In the article, which appeared in the January, 1952, issue of *Commentary*, Gersh masked Garfield's name. Garfield died in May, 1952, and Gersh says there is no need to mask it any longer.

"It was about two-thirty in the afternoon of a warm Saturday a couple of months ago when the FBI came to our house," Gersh's article said. "I was weeding the pachysandra, wearing an old pair of gray flannels and an army shirt. Smoking a pipe, of course. . . .

"The lead man, we'll call him Mr. Walsh, smiled at me and said, 'Good afternoon.' The second man, Mr. Brown, grunted. I just smiled.

" 'You're Mr. Gersh? Harry Gersh?' Mr. Walsh asked. I nodded. 'We're from the FBI.' I gawked. Remembering back, I think they cast steely, all-encompassing glances up and down the street, Mr. Walsh looking south, Mr. Brown looking north, as the letters 'FBI' were uttered. But I'm not sure. Mr. Walsh did ask hurriedly whether we couldn't go into the house. I nodded, maybe I grunted. Anyway, I led them into the house.

"After three years in the Navy I am not easily surprised, astonished, or shocked. But the Navy had never prepared me for this situation. While I walked up the steps I searched feverishly back into time. What had I done, advertently or inadvertently? Into what great danger had I brought my country?"

That's how Gersh's story began. A word about Gersh's background. At the time of the visit he was assistant educational director of the Textile Workers of America. He is now a public information director for a firm of insurance and pension-plan counselors. Politically he is a veteran anti-Communist with a socialist outlook, and a broad experience in factional battles against Communists in the Thirties.

His story is significant because, for subjective impressions of an FBI interview, it is unique in the literature on the Bureau and because J. Edgar Hoover reacted so violently to it.

"Mr. Walsh put us at our ease," Gersh continued. "A little too easily, perhaps. He said that they were looking for information but that it had nothing to do with us personally. Somehow that didn't make me feel better. It had an even more ominous sound. . . .

". . . For all Mr. Walsh's boyish good looks and open face, there was

something unhealthy about the whole thing. It bothered me and I know that it bothered my wife. In the constant digging back for minutiae they seemed to be building somebody's coffin out of coral. And we didn't know whose . . .

". . . About half an hour after they started the questioning . . . we still hadn't the faintest idea why they had come. Suddenly Mr. Walsh told us.

" 'Mrs. Gersh, does the name [John Garfield] mean anything to you?'

". . . Violet smiled, then she giggled, got flustered, became a little frightened and finally answered: 'It does.'

". . . 'What,' asked the FBI with downcast eyes, 'was the relationship . . . ?' "

" 'The relationship was personal,' she said."

And so they talked about John Garfield. Was he a Communist? Would they know if he was a Communist? How would they know? Would they tell if they knew? No, Mrs. Gersh said, he wasn't a Communist. Yes, she would know by virtue of her encounters with Communists in the Thirties. Yes, they would tell if they knew. The interview kept on.

An Innocent Relationship Becomes A 'Shady Past'

"The FBI men had been pleasant, thoughtful of the niceties, and averagely intelligent about the subject of their investigation," Gersh concluded. "It was apparent that they had no special knowledge of the left-wing or Communist movement in this country. It was hard to understand how they could do a good job, find the guilty and protect the innocent, without it, but I didn't quarrel with them about that. . . . It was while they were leaving that they made their big mistake.

"I guess politeness and a wish to be pleasant to someone whose afternoon you've wasted made Mr. Walsh say what he did. 'Well, Mrs. Gersh,' he said, 'that's all behind you now.'.

"Violet looked peculiar. I could have warned him but I didn't know how. I don't remember the exact words he used next, but this is the sense of the comment:

"You're clean now, Mrs. Gersh. You've been mixed up in some rather shady things in the past, Socialists, Communists, but it must have been youthful wildness. You're well rid of it, as we can see from this house and this street and talking to you. You can depend on us to keep it quiet. No one will know about your record.

"It was the wrong thing to say to anyone with our background, especially Violet. 'Mr. Walsh,' she said loudly and distinctly, 'I've got a good record, regardless of what the FBI thinks, and I'm proud of it.' She went on in that vein for a while. She was working up to the point where she would be sorry she voted for Roosevelt instead of Thomas. But I could see that neither Mr. Walsh nor Mr. Brown understood what they had done nor why Violet was being so vociferous, so I broke in to say our goodbyes. I had to edge Violet back into the house. The FBI men waved once going across the street, got into their car, and drove off."

That was the last time Gersh saw the FBI, but it is not the last he heard from them. J. Edgar Hoover protested to the editor of *Commentary* in a letter appearing in the June, 1952, issue.

"Frankly," Hoover wrote, "I was surprised to see such an obvious and intentional attempt to hold the FBI up to ridicule being printed in your magazine.

". . . It is difficult to understand why Mr. Gersh chose to distort the circumstances of the interview in such a way and that the agents were portrayed as sinister individuals, and that he, his wife, and child were pictured as being subjected to an 'unhealthy,' as he calls it, experience.

"I think that it is very evident from a review of the article that Mr. Gersh clearly intended to give an exaggerated and unfair account of the interview."

Gersh had the last word. A published letter defended the article as a "piece of reportage—not only of events, but of the effects of those events upon a family of normal, law-abiding citizens."

He said Hoover "wasn't competent to judge whether his agents appeared 'sinister.' (His word, not mine) . . . He'll have to take our word for it that the occasion was not one of ease and good fellowship.

"If Mr. Hoover believes that a visit from the FBI, even to innocent people, is an occasion for jollity, he is mistaken. Maybe we've seen too many FBI movies. If that explains our reaction, Mr. Hoover's quarrel is with James Cagney, not with the Gershes."

Today, sitting in his office, Gersh recalls the incident and smiles. If the interview occurred today, he says, he would react exactly the same way.

"You see," he says, "I've met about ten or twelve FBI men. A few have been knowledgeable about the Thirties—the period you have to understand if you are to understand American communism. They know a Lovestoneite from a Trotskyite and so on. But these two agents who interviewed my wife and me didn't know beans about communism. They'd only been given a small part of the case and told to get certain information. The FBI works like that sometimes. They also have vertical agents, of course, who do all phases of one field investigation. These agents had only one aspect of it, I'm sure. They were quite skillful at interrogation. They were good mechanics. But you need more than a good mechanic for this kind of job."

Nothing happened to him, Gersh added, after the piece was published seven years ago.

"I gained a certain measure of fame, that's all. For years afterwards, people I met would say: 'Oh, you're the guy who did the story about the FBI.'

"It's heartening in one sense. But you get the feeling: this is it, buddy. Whatever you've done before or whatever you may write in the future won't count.

"This is your contribution."

FBI Agents Approach A Lady in A Lobby

The FBI didn't go to Irene Munger's home. It approached her in the lobby at her place of business. And she didn't write an article about the encounter; she telephoned the New York *Post* and the American Civil Liberties Union.

Mrs. Munger is the divorced mother of two children. She works as a secretary for the Health Insurance Plan of New York. She says the two special agents walked up to her in the lobby of her office building at 625 Madison Avenue a few minutes before nine on the morning of April

22, 1959. This is how she tells it:

"I was waiting for the elevator with an office friend, Jim Blunt, when these two respectable looking men—one heavy-set with a fair complexion, the other a swarthy man carrying brief cases—came up to us.

"The heavy set man asked: 'Are you Mrs. Irene Munger?'

"When I said I was they held out leather folders with metal badges and green cards that identified them as FBI agents. I wasn't afraid or anything—at the beginning. I had been interviewed by the FBI three times before about friends who'd applied for government jobs.

"The thing that disturbed me most was that if they wanted to talk to me in the lobby I'd be late for work—they're very strict about punctuality where I work. I kept thinking: these men are going to make me late.

"The heavy-set man did all the talking. He asked me to come over to the side of the lobby where we could speak more privately. He said to me:

" 'We have received a complaint that you are going around making disparaging remarks about the character of J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI.'

"He said if this were true it could lead to a possible slander suit.

"I was shocked. I had never even heard of anything like that before. I blurted out: 'I'm so busy I don't have time to make disparaging remarks about anybody.'

"Then it occurred to me to ask why they hadn't come to my office to interview me. The FBI men said:

" 'We thought you might be embarrassed by having the FBI come to your office.'

" 'This must have something to do with my eviction,' I said. That interested them.

" 'Oh, you've been evicted?' the agent asked. 'Where are you living now?' "

"I just told him I was living with a friend and he let the matter drop.

"Finally the heavy set man asked me if I would be willing to sign a paper saying that I had never made a disparaging remark about the character of J. Edgar Hoover or the FBI.

"I had never heard of anything like that either. But I told him I wouldn't be afraid to sign such a paper.

"He asked if they could see me again after working hours and we made an appointment to meet in the reception area of my office at five that afternoon when everyone would be gone.

"I was terribly upset by the time I got upstairs to the office. I told a few people about what had happened and they were as shocked and surprised as I was. As I told the story I realized that I didn't even know if the men were from the FBI at all.

"So I called FBI headquarters here to check on the two men—I didn't even have their names. I had been so flustered I hadn't bothered to take them down when they showed their credentials.

"I told the man who answered the phone at the FBI what happened; he asked me to describe the two agents and tell him what they said. I did and I asked him if the FBI would actually send out two men to ask someone this kind of question in the lobby of their office building.

"The FBI man said that the Bureau wouldn't and promised to call me back to tell me if the men were really special agents. By five o'clock I had gotten no call so I asked Jim Blunt to come along with me—so that if the men turned out not to be from the FBI I would have another witness.

"At five I went out with Jim and there were the same two men sitting in the chairs next to the desk where the receptionist sits during the day. They stood up when we approached.

"Before anything else the heavy set man said:

" 'We understand you called the office to check on us today.'

"I said I had and they took out their credentials again. This time I looked at them more carefully and copied down their names. Then the heavy-set one who had done all the talking during the morning asked me whether I was ready to sign the paper now.

"I'd decided during the afternoon not to sign anything without talking it over with my lawyer, so I gave the FBI men his name and address and told them to get in touch with him.

"They took the slip of paper and that's the last I have heard from them."

Two days later Mrs. Munger phoned the *Post* and, afterwards, the ACLU.

An Interview With The Post Results in an Agent's Demotion

A New York *Post* reporter took Mrs. Munger's statement to the New York headquarters of the FBI at 201 East 69th Street. His visit was acknowledged with courtesy and cooperation. He read Mrs. Munger's statement, exactly as she offered it, to B. C. Brown, assistant special agent in charge of the New York field office. Her entire version of the two encounters with the special agents was recited and Brown replied without hesitation:

"It happened almost exactly that way." Then, he added, "You should know a little more about the actual story."

He explained that "a person whose reliability we have no reason to question" had informed the FBI that Mrs. Munger made a remark last November reflecting on the personal behavior of J. Edgar Hoover.

"We were trying to find out if she made the statement—and why," Brown said.

It was not common practice, he explained, to question an individual against whom such a complaint had been lodged in the lobby of a place of employment. "In this case," he said, "we didn't know where she lived." Moreover, he said, her employers requested she not be interviewed in the office.

Brown was asked if agents would question a newspaper reporter, if he were similarly accused, in the lobby of his newspaper's building.

"They might," he replied, "if it was more than a critical remark. This was slanderous."

The reporter then said that, in order to make out a case of slander, damages would have to be shown. How, he asked, could a secretary at HIP damage a man with the reputation of J. Edgar Hoover with a single remark?

"I wouldn't be able to answer that," Brown replied. He said he assumed the two agents had told Mrs. Munger the nature of the remark she was accused of making. He insisted the interview had been undertaken with no thought of intimidating her. He indicated that nothing more was to be done on the case.

"It's one person's word against another," he said.

If the FBI was merely interested in obtaining her denial, the reporter then asked, why wasn't her word sufficient? Why was she asked to sign a statement?

"The agents weren't sure she was telling the truth."

Are they sure now?

They were not, he indicated.

Then why has the case been dropped?

"I don't know what has been dropped."

Had Mrs. Munger's complaint to the *Post* and to the ACLU any bearing on the disposition of the case?

"That has no bearing on the case."

Are there any plans to go to her lawyer?

"No plans that I know of."

Are there any plans to go to her again?

"Not that I know of."

And there the matter rests today.

Except for one thing. Assistant special agent in charge, B. C. Brown, is no longer in the New York office. He has been transferred to Pittsburgh, where we phoned him. He told us the transfer was simply a matter of routine.

It was not from the FBI that we heard about the transfer. We heard about it from some readers in Upper Montclair, N. J., where Brown had lived with his wife and family during his tenure in New York. His wife had told the neighbors that they had to sell their home. Her husband, she said, had been transferred—and demoted—for talking to a reporter from the *Post*.

Voices From The Past

Echo In Today's Silence

A prominent Senator from the Midwest stated his case against J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI in no uncertain terms. Among other things, he said:

"Mr. Hoover has an organization, maintained at public expense, writing speeches for him to make or for anyone else to make who will take the speeches. When he makes a speech, a copy is sent to practically every newspaper in the United States . . .

"No organization that I know of meets in Washington without having some person appear before it to tell what a great organization the FBI is. The greatest man of all, who stands at the head of it, never made a mistake, never made a blunder. In his hands lie the future and the perpetuity of our institutions and our government . . .

"Mr. Hoover is doing more injury to honest law enforcement in this country by his publicity-seeking feats than is being done by any one thing connected with his organization . . .

"A detective who advertises his ex-

ploits every time he gets an opportunity, who spends the public money to see that they are spread over the pages of the newspapers in flaming headlines, will in the end be a failure in ferreting out crime and bringing persons to justice . . .

"Unless we do something to stop this furor of adulation and praise as being omnipotent, we shall have an organization—the organization of the FBI—which, instead of protecting our people from the evil nets of criminals, will itself in the end direct the government by tyrannical force . . ."

The words are from the late Senator George W. Norris of Nebraska. They were uttered in 1940. Few members of Congress and few other public officials have challenged J. Edgar Hoover since George Norris spoke his mind. Today there is little but eulogy—or silence.

James Lawrence Fly, former chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, repeatedly clashed with Hoover in the Thirties and into World War II. They first tangled while Fly was in the Justice Department and requisitioned FBI men for vast trust-busting investigations. Later, more importantly, they battled over wire-tapping. Fly insisted that Hoover was continuously trying to circumvent Supreme Court decisions holding that the federal law banning wire-tapping meant what it said. Says Fly:

"Hoover sets his FBI above the law and moves in defiance of the Criminal Code and clear-cut decisions of the Supreme Court. To say that, because you have a desirable purpose, you have the right to disregard the law is a revolutionary attitude.

"Refusing to discuss public issues on their merits and deliberately smearing loyal citizens who dare to raise their voices in criticism is an old technique of Hoover's, habitual and unrestrained . . . The FBI carelessly and ruthlessly rides the crest of public hysteria. In such a milieu, a strong secret police may imperil the civil liberties of a free people."

A generation ago, the FBI demonstrated the same "ruthlessness" in its drive against the gangsters of the bullet-riddled Thirties.

When Homer Cummings first took office as Attorney General, in 1933, it was his thesis that the big bootlegging gangs had turned to kidnaping as a livelihood after Prohibition was repealed. Crime reporters and criminologists scoffed at this. They said kidnaping was strictly a "one-shot" racket, mostly the work of unbalanced loners and amateurs. The FBI's eagerness to substantiate Cummings' thesis was perhaps nowhere more clearly reflected than in the Roger Touhy affair.

The FBI's Curious Conduct

In the Touhy Case

FBI agent Melvin Purvis provided the details of the case in his book, published in 1935. Twenty years later, and after Touhy had spent 20 years behind bars, his conviction for the kidnaping of Jake (the Barber) Factor was reversed by a federal court judge.

With the kind of ingenuous candor that made his book so unpopular with the FBI, Purvis opened his account of the case by saying, "We assumed from the start, with no material evidence, that the Touhy gang was responsible for the crime. Every fact was fitted to the theory, and the theory was correct."

There were two trials. During the

first, a priest told the FBI that he had been visiting Touhy in Chicago during the period when Factor allegedly was being held. The priest's statement somehow never reached the courtroom, but the trial ended anyway in a hung jury.

The second trial produced the testimony of a hoodlum known as "Tennessee Ike" who said he had taken part in the kidnaping and then made a positive identification of Touhy. Touhy and three other members of the gang were convicted and eventually sentenced to 99 years each. Two others drew lesser terms.

Fifteen years later, Federal Judge Barnes ruled, in effect, that the jury had been wrong in the Factor case. In the U.S. District Court in Chicago, Judge Barnes read a 558-page opinion which threw out the Touhy conviction. Judge Barnes' research into the case brought to light the vanished alibi for Touhy provided by the priest and included a deposition from "Tennessee Ike" admitting that he had nothing to do with the Factor kidnaping and had never set eyes on Touhy before seeing him in court.

"The Department [of Justice]," Barnes wrote in his decision, "did evince an astounding disregard for Touhy's rights and indulged in practices which, in due regard for the administration of justice, cannot be condoned . . . The evidence discloses and the court finds that Factor, the State's Attorney's office, and the Department of Justice, once the publicity and notoriety originally set in motion by Factor started to avalanche, worked and acted in concert to convict Touhy of something, regardless of his guilt."

[Touhy has since received a pardon for the kidnap charge, and a reduction of an additional 199-year jailbreak sentence, so that he could be paroled.—EDITOR]

Liberals, Reactionaries Support Double-Talking Hoover

One of the perennial problems in assessing the approach of the FBI—whether to gangsters, subversion, the law, or civil liberties—is the addiction of its director to speaking out of both sides of his mouth.

CRIMINOLOGY: "There is no romance in crime and there is no romance in criminals," Hoover told the National Congress of Hi-Y Clubs in 1936. "They are rats, vermin, vultures, regurgitating their filth to despoil the clean picture of American manhood and womanhood. They sink deeper and deeper into a mire of viciousness which inevitably leads to filth in mind, filth in morals and in bodily health . . ."

"Each criminal is an individual personality," Hoover wrote in *Education* magazine in 1950. "He must be treated and analyzed by himself. To draw binding overall generalizations as to motivations, causations, and methods of operation would be both impossible and inaccurate."

FALLIBILITY: "We are constantly surrounded by nitwits and porous-brained sentimentalists who, either through powder-puff perspective or actual affiliation with the criminal element, seek to undermine the foundations upon which we must stand if we are to protect the American home." *(Address, International Association of Chiefs of Police, San Francisco, Oct. 10, 1939)*

"The record of the FBI is well known. We are a human organization functioning in a field where the possibility of error is high, where temptation is sensitive, and the security of the individual is paramount. We have sought to discharge our responsibilities with impartiality, fairness, and regard for nothing but the truth. The men of the FBI are taught that it is even more important to establish innocence than guilt." *(New York* Times *Sunday Magazine Section, April 16, 1950)*

CONSTITUTIONAL PROCEDURE: "The judiciary remains the protector of our way of life. If FBI activity were totalitarian in nature, the courts would be appealed to with dispatch." *(New York* Times *Sunday Magazine Section, April 16, 1950)*

"We are being stifled by technicalities and by the throwing of roadblocks in the pathway of our traditional methods of justice. The bland refusal to recognize the public welfare and common sense too often result in prostitution of the law in favor of evil. To dismiss lightly the existence of the subversive threat in the United States is to deliberately commit national suicide. In some quarters we are surely doing this. It would be the worst kind of folly to allow the spy and subversive immunity through technical rather than logical interpretation of the law, while they plot the destruction of our democratic form of government." *(Address, American Legion Convention, Sept. 19, 1957)*

LIBERALS: "The word 'liberal' has a fine, upright meaning and is symbolic of a great historic tradition. That is why the Communists appropriate the term for their own use . . . Communism is the very opposite of liberalism. Liberalism means increased rights for the citizen; a curb on the powers of the central government; freedom of speech, religion and the press. Communism means fewer and fewer rights for the private citizen, curtailment of freedom of speech and press and worship of God . . . The liberals do not want revolution but genuine social reform. That is why the Communists detest them . . ." *(Masters of Deceit,* 1957)

"It is through the 'pseudo-liberals' that the Communists do some of their most destructive work. These fictitious liberals are the individuals who through insidiously slanted and sly propagandistic writings and reports oppose urgently-needed internal-security measures, conduct a one-sided campaign to discredit government witnesses, present the menace of communism as a myth of hysteria, urge that we tolerate the subversive acts of Communists because Communists are only 'non-conformists,' contend that the Communist Party is a political movement and that it is improper to consider it a criminal conspiracy linked to a world conspiracy to overthrow our government by force and violence." *(Address, International Association of Chiefs of Police, Oct. 3, 1955)*

Whatever the verdict of history, it must be conceded that Hoover has achieved a large measure of success in beguiling or neutralizing potential liberal critics even while remaining the pin-up boy of American reaction. In part this may simply reflect the accepted political law that public conflict with Hoover is an invitation to political suicide. In any case, when the FBI chief celebrated his thirty-fifth anniversary at his post last May, more than a few Senate liberals rose to second the emotions expressed by such stalwart conservatives as Senators Everett M. Dirksen, Illinois Re-

publican, and Styles Bridges, New Hampshire Republican.

Former Senator Burton K. Wheeler, Montana Democrat, has been a foe of Hoover's since he pressed a Senate inquiry into the Justice Department in the early Twenties. "When I first came to Washington and began the investigation," he charged later, "Mr. Hoover was present at the investigation and hearings . . . Agents of the department raided my offices; they broke into my offices . . . they stationed men at my house, surrounded my house, watched persons who went in and came out, constantly shadowed me, shadowed my house, and shadowed my wife."

Wheeler charged that the FBI "had files upon this Senator and that Senator."

Can it be the files, the alleged dossiers, that have brought on the massive silence of today? Eleven years ago Hoover denied making investigations of members of Congress or prominent citizens "as such." He insisted that "investigative files" are maintained only when a complaint is received charging federal law violation or involving a concurrent investigation. But reports on the dossiers persist. An important member of Congress who has intimate dealings with the FBI in the course of his official duties told us flatly:

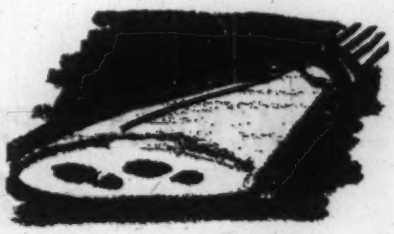
"It is true that the FBI has detailed dossiers on every one in Washington."

And, he added, candidly, "I think it can be viewed with a good deal of misgivings. The [New York] *Times* said it could give the holder of the dossiers 'possessive power' over Congress. Only criminals or potential criminals should be included in those dossiers."

Politicians Do Not Attack 'Santa Claus, God, or Hoover'

Characteristically, this Congressman insisted that we withhold his name. We say *characteristically* because if frank discussion of J. Edgar Hoover is astonishingly scarce, *names* are even scarcer. People just don't want to talk.

"The American people simply will not countenance any criticism of J. Edgar Hoover" was the way J. Howard McGrath, former Attorney General and Hoover's chief, summed



things up. "They feel he has done a wonderful job of protecting them and making them feel safe." Dozens of officials and former officials in Washington contributed less information than that.

"I would say more than 90 per cent of the Senate is behind him politically," a liberal Senator from the West told us—off the record. "Hoover is not vulnerable. In politics you do not attack Santa Claus and you do not attack God. If it got back to my district that I attacked J. Edgar Hoover, I would be pilloried. Those who were concerned with the growth of the federal police—men like Senator Norris and others—are dead now, or back home. Those that are here cannot afford to speak up."

"Anything Hoover has to say would have the strongest influence on legislation," Senator Keating, New York Republican, told us. "Anyone would hesitate to enter into conflict with him. Anyone who stood up to attack him in Congress would really get it from both sides." Keating's remarks were on the record and could be called the most outspoken of any we encountered from a public official.

We went to see Emanuel Celler, fighting liberal Congressman from Brooklyn and chairman of the House Judiciary Committee. Referring to notes, he gave us a frank, balanced appraisal of Hoover, a man he has had to consult frequently on legislation. Celler's comments contained a balance of criticism and praise. Later he asked that his words be read back to him. We assured him we would. Then he asked that the interview be sent to him exactly as it would appear in the paper. We agreed. Finally, he called the editor and asked that his remarks be withdrawn entirely.

We went to see Harry Truman—blunt, outspoken, give-'em-hell Harry Truman. In 1940 he was a member of a Senate committee that criticized the FBI; two years later he headed a subcommittee that killed an FBI proposal for wire-tap privileges; at other points in his career, as Senator, President, and Mr. Citizen, he has come into unmistakable conflict with J. Edgar Hoover.

Truman wouldn't see us at first; he talked to us on the telephone.

"I have the greatest admiration and respect for Mr. Hoover," he said. "He runs an excellent, efficient service. He is always loyal to the top boss, whoever it is. That is all I have to say."

We detected an unaccustomed note of subtlety in his comment so, while Truman was in New York last spring, we approached him again.

"No," he said. "I won't talk about the FBI because I'm prejudiced. But I won't tell you which way I'm prejudiced." We knew about the prejudice; it was the amplification we were after. "Greatest admiration and respect" aside, Truman has never been in Hoover's corner.

Hoover, Like McCarthy, Is The Product of Others' Failures

The list of non-contributors can be extended indefinitely. Louis B. Nichols, former assistant to the director and widely recognized as the skilled architect of many of the Bureau's publicity coups, agreed to talk with a *Post* reporter. Five months later, after the *Post's* still-to-be-written series had been under fire from the FBI's cheerleaders in press, politics, and pulpit, Nichols wrote the *Post* that "no good purpose would be served by an interview."

Melvin Purvis, the G-Man who got Dillinger and "Pretty Boy" Floyd and then broke with Hoover over publicity, said flatly he didn't want to talk about it. Don Whitehead, newspaperman-author of *The FBI Story*, never answered a letter requesting an interview.

Former Governor Thomas E. Dewey, whose premature Presidential plans of 1948 were widely reported to include the elevation of Hoover out of his FBI post, told us he was tied up. And so on.

With a few notable exceptions, we found that people—from a former President of the United States to a former agent of the FBI—were uneasy, or afraid, or suspicious. They simply didn't want to talk about the

FBI. Then we found that the FBI didn't want to talk about itself. Hoover refused to receive us.

It is a telling commentary on the FBI's inhibiting influence that so many potential sources of information about Mr. Hoover and his work—favorable and critical alike—dried up in terror at the approach of our reporters. It was as hard to get the case for him as against him. Hoover was unavailable; so was virtually his entire staff, on orders from above. Thus the normal processes of free inquiry into the operations of a key area of government were seriously obstructed. An earnest effort to educate and be educated was treated as if it were a conspiracy against the republic.

Why? Probably the answer lies both in the nature of the man and the duplex character of his job. J. Edgar Hoover has clearly been captivated by the public portrait his machine has created; he is the victim of his own press-agentry. The record shows he has skillfully enlarged his power while creating the public image of a dragon-slayer whose technique and style are not to be questioned lest the country be devoured during his momentary distraction. He has put himself beyond the reach of criticism which lesser men, such as Presidents and Cabinet officers, are forced to endure in the service of democracy. He has pushed around a lot of people without audible dissent.

Hoover is neither superman nor demon, but a rather undramatic, unoriginal, hard-working government bureaucrat who has been transformed into an untouchable legend with the craven help of the politicians, the press, and, now, by Hollywood—in the two and a half hour long testimonial, *The FBI Story*. Just as Joe McCarthy once loomed large primarily because of the smallness of those who privately—but not publicly—questioned his works, so Hoover has achieved a special eminence by virtue of the frailty and failures of other men: Presidents (Democratic and Republican), Attorneys-General (Democratic and Republican), Senators, publishers, editors, and other alleged protectors of our liberties.

In a free society no government official or agency should be spared such scrutiny—least of all a secret police and its director.

AMERICA NEEDS A *revolutionary* STRATEGY

by JOHN SWOMLEY, JR.

SINCE THE END of World War I, the world has been caught up in a period of revolution and upheaval. One of these revolutions erupted from the growing determination of the poor and underprivileged all over the world to better their lot. Another is the Communist revolution with all that this has implied in the way of power struggle between East and West.

For many years the United States was unable to decide which revolution was more basic. Was Communism enjoying its opportunities and building its power as a result of the revolution of the underprivileged? Or were the "poor" nations revolting only because they were inspired and aided by the Communists?

Today in Asia and Africa there is a growing body of evidence that the basic revolution is one in which racial equality, national freedom, and economic opportunity are the goals. Those who guide these revolutions turn to Communism only as a last resort against an adamant West. Communism, on the other hand, in order to meet its own dynamic goal of winning the world has to depend on penetration and taking over non-Communist revolutionary situations and movements. Is it not possible therefore that the Communist revolution is simply riding piggy-back on the revolution of the poor and dispossessed?

American policy since World War I, with a few exceptions, has been one of ignoring or suppressing these revolutions. In the Twenties and early Thirties our emphasis was on seeking a world of law free from entanglements and free from war. This period has often been characterized as one of neutralism or isolationism on our part.

In the late Thirties we shifted our emphasis toward preparation for, and then actively fighting, a war to preserve the status quo which Germany, Italy, and Japan threatened. Since World War II we have continued in a state of war and military preparedness in order to deal with other threats, most of them from Communist countries.

The "peace" policy of the Thirties and the "war" policy of the Fifties are in reality irrational responses to the same problem of revolution. They are irrational because we have never made either a realistic attempt to assess the meaning of the revolutions confronting the world or a serious attempt to deal with revolution and its underlying situation.

We have even permitted ourselves to drift into an attitude of frightened and frantic response to crisis after crisis instead of having an over-all philosophy and strategy for revolution. This lack of understanding about what is happening and our lack of strategy in turn have led to a blind determination to stop the spread of Communism even if we have to destroy civilization to do it. The development of nuclear weapons has given us the means to back up this threat of destruction.

The combination of a lack of strategy for dealing with revolution, a willingness to destroy civilization if necessary, and the ability to do so have been gathered up in one concept

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—deterrence. As currently used, deterrence is a broad concept. It includes:

- ¶ The containment of Communist and allied revolutionary movements by military means.
- ¶ An ever present threat of nuclear retaliation in the hope that it will pose such risks to an aggressor that he will not proceed with his aggression.
- ¶ Retaliation with nuclear weapons if an aggressor nevertheless proceeds to strike the United States or some part of the world vital to us.

The only military variation in this policy of deterrence which has been seriously discussed is the substitution of limited war for nuclear war as the instrument to enforce containment.

In this sense limited war would be fought with conventional weapons for limited objectives and generally in a limited geographical area. A war with the Soviet Union that aimed at her destruction or at rendering her impotent could not be considered limited. Some authorities believe that very small or tactical atomic weapons could be used in limited war, but this is doubtful because such weapons are almost certain to "spread the conflagration."

In any event, as Hanson Baldwin, military analyst for the New York *Times*, points out, "the first requirement for keeping a limited war limited is, ironically, the capability of extending it." Thus the threat of nuclear retaliation would be at least as strong during a limited war. Moreover, nuclear weapons might be used if the impending loss of a limited war seemed to jeopardize our global power position. Limited war therefore does not alter the over-all problem posed by the policy of deterrence.

Professor Henry Kissinger of Harvard has defined deterrence as "the attempt to keep an opponent from adopting a certain course of action by posing risks which will seem to him out of proportion to any gains to be achieved."

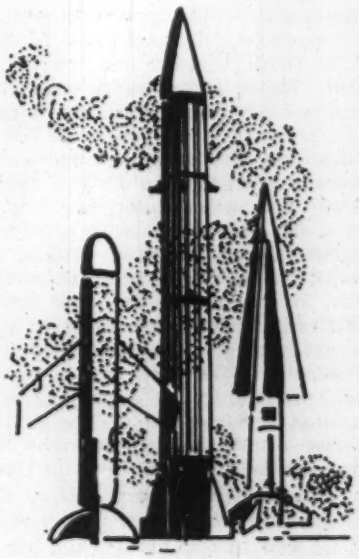
His definition can be simplified by recognizing that deterrence is basically a reversal of the Golden Rule: "Be prepared to do unto others what you do not want them to do unto you"—and they won't do it. Such a policy puts the accent on fear and threat as our method of dealing with other nations. The implication of "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you" is one of winning support of others by example, by fairness and justice, or in political terms by the power of attraction. I am not now raising questions of New Testament ethics but rather of the psychological orientation of our policy. Is it possible to base our security on the threat of nuclear extermination of millions of people in Europe and Asia and at the same time convince these or other millions that they are important persons whose standard of living should be raised and whose freedom we really cherish?

Another way of asking the same question is to ask whether deterrence is an effective approach to a world in revolution. Since our adoption of this policy China has gone Communist, Hungary has lost its attempt at freedom, North Viet Nam has gone Communist, and the Bagdad Pact has been destroyed by the revolution in Iraq.

A narrower definition of deterrence is based on the acknowledgment that nuclear war has become so destructive that there is no hope of victory but only the prospect of annihilation. The argument follows then that if no nation will consciously seek its own death, the way to prevent war is to be prepared for the kind of war that neither side dares to wage.

One difficulty with such a policy is that it assumes wars are started by intention rather than by blunder or miscalculation. It assumes that our adversaries are ruled by rational men and that their missile-launching devices and ours are manned by persons who won't make mistakes. Again and again our own technicians have misinterpreted the radar screen with the result that bombers were sent toward Russia. Fortunately they were called back before they had reached their destination. Intercontinental missiles which take only 30 minutes to reach their destination cannot similarly be recalled.

The expectation that both Russia and America will retaliate if attacked means that our national existence and the safety of millions of people are dependent on making no blunders. There is no margin for error on either side.



Another difficulty with the concept of deterrence is that it fosters the growth of military values and constant readiness for war. Deterrence loses its force if it is merely a bluff or if the adversary believes it is a bluff. Therefore it has to be founded on a technology, a public opinion, and a political system that will assure an immediate retaliatory response to aggression.

But deterrence is not simply intended to prevent attack on the United States. It is a policy to forestall aggression anywhere. If after a warning an aggressor nevertheless proceeds on the assumption that a limited aggression is not sufficient to precipitate a nuclear war then we must follow through or be caught bluffing. In this sense a deterrent which is not implemented ceases to be a deterrent. In such a situation a policy of deterrence narrows our courses of action not to several possibilities but to one. The decision of whether or not we commit suicide is in the hands of an enemy; any move on his part forcing us to respond invites our own destruction.

If we are to examine deterrence seriously we must do so in the light of its ultimate meaning, nuclear retaliation. In the event of a surprise attack on the United States we have these alternatives: to retaliate by destroying the enemy, or not to retaliate.

If we are largely or totally destroyed our retaliation will have lost its meaning in strategic terms, for as Kissinger has pointed out, we shall be pursuing a strategy after the political and social basis for it has already disappeared.

A policy of nuclear retaliation with the probability of civilization being destroyed and the human race genetically distorted has been justified by the slogan: "Better no world than a Communist world." This is based on at least three assumptions:

- ¶ We accept the Communist dogma that theirs is the final revolution and conclude that there is no way of ending Communism short of destroying an entire people and an entire civilization.
- ¶ We accept the nihilistic philosophy of Hitler, namely that if we do not survive in all our glory we shall pull the rest of the race down to destruction with us.
- ¶ We have our backs to the wall and have lost confidence in our ability to discover and put into effect any policy other than the one of mutual annihilation.

If, on the other hand, we should consider the alternative policy of no nuclear retaliation we would probably accept another set of assumptions:

- ¶ We will not gain anything, once destroyed, if we destroy the rest of the race.
- ¶ Neither Communism nor any other system will last forever. All systems require constant change to meet changing needs. They must change or be replaced.
- ¶ There are other ways than deterrence for dealing with revolution, aggression, or Communist expansion.

If the United States were to recognize the military policy it is now pursuing is a dead end and decide to abandon it, there would be a number of alternatives or complementary policies it could pursue.

The first and obvious one is to announce our commitment to total universal disarmament along the lines already proposed by Premier Khrushchev to the United Nations. This would require serious negotiations in an effort to translate the Khrushchev proposal into reality. It would also require large scale study and planning for economic change to a peace economy.

A second approach would involve intensive negotiation for disengagement of troops and military installations from Europe, the Middle East, and the Far East, followed by neutralization of these areas, as in Austria, where the problem of guarantees against aggression was turned over to the United Nations. This idea has already been endorsed in principle by Premier Khrushchev; Adam Rapacki, the Polish foreign minister; Hugh Gaitskell, the leader of the British Labor Party; and George F. Kennan, who formerly served as head of the policy planning division in the State Department.

Third, we should use our economic power to create internal stability for resistance to subversion and as a weapon of social change in Asia and Africa. It is significant that Finland and a large part of Austria were conquered and occupied by Russian troops in 1945. The internal stability of these two nations was so strong that no significant Communist movement could develop. Without such a movement and other evidence of dissatisfaction with their own government, it would have been extremely difficult to incorporate Finland and Austria into the Communist world as satellites.

Fourth, we must not underestimate the power of attraction which a nation-state would have if it became the symbol to the peoples of Africa, Asia, South America, and Europe of their hopes for freedom, equality, plenty. We should recall the attraction power of the newly-formed Soviet Union to the labor movement in Europe and America in the 1920's when the Soviet Union had practically no other power with which to defend herself except the promise of social change and a more abundant life. In that decade the labor movement in many Western countries was so ready to give the Soviet Union a chance to make good that it would not prepare for or support a war against the Soviet Union. The United States could similarly separate the non-Communist world from the Communist and divide the peoples of the Communist world from their leaders if we were to stop backing the status-quo and by our actions become the symbol of hope to the common people of the world.

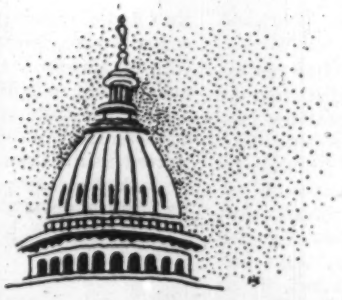
Fifth, in seeking by political and economic means to deal with the problems of totalitarianism and aggression, the power of world public opinion must be used to bolster agreements and frustrate invasion or conquest. In this context, we must not overlook the effectiveness of the Communist peace offensive. It is even instructive to note that the germ warfare charges against the United States in Korea were intended as psychological warfare to prevent the use of the atom bomb by the United States in Korea and elsewhere in Asia. The United States was so placed on the defensive by these charges that it could not easily have used equally horrible atomic weapons if it had been planning to do so. The revulsion of world public opinion against the United States would have created intolerable pressures. For our part mere propaganda would not suffice. We would have to plan acts of great political and economic significance if we intended to mobilize world public opinion.

Other creative proposals have been made. For example, George Kennan in his book, *Russia, the Atom and the West*, has suggested the unilateral disarmament of Western Europe and the building of European social and economic strength as a bulwark against Communism. In the event of invasion he would advocate violent underground resistance. Sir Stephen King-Hall of England, a former Royal Navy commander, in his book, *Defense in the Nuclear Age*, advocates unilateral disarmament and reliance on non-violent resistance.

In the final analysis all policy must be based on two assumptions:

¶ If we are interested either in national or human survival we dare not use the weapons we have created and stockpiled.

¶ If we want to compete successfully with Communism or any other ideology, we must recognize that economic and social revolutions cannot be deterred or contained by military power. They can be dealt with only by a superior revolutionary strategy, and that strategy must seek genuinely to meet the needs of those driven to revolution.



Battle at the Back Door

by JAMES REICHLEY

ONE OF THE MOST significant issues on which the battles of the second session of the 86th Congress probably will be fought is the little publicized, little understood controversy over the advisability and even the legality of continuing to finance a number of important government activities through so-called public debt transactions.

Labeled "back door raids on the Treasury" by their critics, public debt transactions have rankled the breasts of conservatives for more than a quarter of a century. Not until the first session of the current Congress, however, did a full-scale assault on the practice begin in both houses. This assault was temporarily beaten back, but not without vital concessions wrung from the defenders.

In the most recent skirmish on the issue, fought on the floor of the Senate July 1, 1959, Senator George Aiken, Vermont Republican, pointed out that public debt transactions are currently being used to finance all or part of the activities of the Commodity Credit Corporation, the Rural Electrification Administration, the Farmers Home Administration, the Export-Import Bank, the Housing and Home Finance Agency, the International Cooperation Administration, the St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation, the Veterans Administration, and the Defense Materials Service, which stockpiles strategic materials. Some of these agencies probably could not function at all if forced to abandon their present means of obtaining funds. Certainly most of them would have to alter drastically their modes of operation.

Public debt transactions are, in broad terms, provisions under which the U.S. Treasury is authorized by Congress to make loans to federal agencies for investment in previously approved projects. If, for example, the REA is in need of funds to advance to its subscribers, Congress may authorize the Treasury to take care of the necessary financing. No specifically designated bond issues are floated for this purpose, but funds are made available from the general income. The money is then turned over by REA to its subscribers for a prescribed length of time. When the borrowed sums are paid back by the subscribers—as statistics have shown they are except in a small percentage of cases—they are returned with the accumulated interest to the Treasury.

These transactions differ from ordinary appropriations in that it is expected that they will ultimately cost the Treasury nothing, while appropriations are usually non-returning outlays of cash which Congress has agreed to spend in order to carry on the functions of government. A further, and most significant, distinction between public debt transactions and ordinary appropriations is that the former traditionally have not required initial approval or annual review by the Appropriations Committees of the House or the Senate.

It is this last distinction which has done most to arouse the distrust of conservatives since public debt transactions came into general use in 1932. (The first use of the idea was to finance the Federal Land Banks during World War I, but not until the New Deal employed it to support the Reconstruction Finance Corporation was the technique included among the government's standard fiscal procedures.) The Appropriations Committees, particularly of the House but to some extent also of the Senate, have come during the present century to occupy positions of extreme prestige and influence in the legislative process. The members of the House Appropriations Committee, who belong to no other committees, boast openly that they form a "third House of Congress." On the Senate side, members of the Appropriations Committee are at the same time members of the committees that authorize substantive legislation, and for this reason are less devoted than their House colleagues to maintaining absolute veto power over legislation for appropriations. In both houses, however, the power of the Appropriations Committees is enormous.

Public debt transactions have provided a means for by-passing the special scrutiny of these two Committees. Using this device, the substantive committees have written into authorization bills instructions to the Treasury to finance the authorized programs on a loan basis. No additional action by the Appropriations Committee is necessary on such authorizations. One act of consent by each house is all that is required to set up a program and secure it the funds that it needs to operate.

Members of the Appropriations Committees were aware from the 1930's onwards that public debt transactions opened a dangerous breach in their powers, but not until 1949 was a serious effort made to stamp out the spreading practice. In that year a point of order was made from the floor of the House of Representatives to the effect that the transactions were in fact appropriations. If the point of order had been upheld, all public debt transactions would henceforth have required hearings and approval by the House Appropriations Committee. Congressman Hale Boggs of Louisiana, in the chair

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JAMES REICHLEY was a Congressional Fellow during 1959 when he gathered the material for this article. He is the author of two novels, "The Burying of Kingsmith" and "Hail to the Chief" (about a Republican National Convention).

at the time, ruled, "'Appropriations,' in its usual and customary interpretation, means taking money out of the Treasury by appropriate legislative language for the support of the general functions of the government. The language before us does not do that . . ." Authorization of the Treasury to use the procedure of public debt transactions for the purpose of making loans, Boggs maintained, did not constitute an appropriation.

Conservative strategy since 1949 has been directed to finding a way over or around the Boggs ruling. A good deal of earnest thought has been devoted to this subject by two powerful Virginians, Senator Harry Flood Byrd, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee and master tactician for conservatives in the upper house for many years, and Representative Howard Smith, chairman of the House Rules Committee, which is equal in might to Appropriations itself.

At the beginning of the 1959 session Byrd and Smith each introduced in their respective houses measures which were intended to hobble public debt transactions. Byrd proposed a comprehensive resolution giving the Appropriations Committees control over virtually every nickel that could be expended for any sort of federal project. Smith introduced a somewhat more modest resolution requiring that any bill that would "permit the withdrawal of money from the Treasury without further action of Congress" must go through the Appropriations Committee.

The Byrd Resolution was swiftly bottled up in committee by the Democratic leadership of the Senate, anxious to avoid any controversy that would divide its huge majority elected at the polls a few months before. Smith, however, proceeded to conduct hearings on his resolution before his own Rules Committee.

These hearings produced an unusually clear picture of the disposition of power in the House. Into the witness chair at the end of the narrow committee table came one after another of the hardiest foes and sturdiest defenders of the Appropriations Committee. At the other end of the table, flanked by four Republicans and seven Democrats, sat Howard Smith.

Testifying in favor of the resolution were the tough-minded men of Appropriations: Representatives Mahon of Texas, Gary of Virginia, Kirwan of Ohio, aided and abetted by such sympathetic conservatives on the Rules Committee as Smith and Brown of Ohio. The case for the resolution was summed up after several days of hearings when John Taber of New York, ranking Republican on Appropriations, took the witness chair to declare in slow, emphatic syllables, "The opposition . . . to the Smith Resolution . . . has no merit . . . whatever."

Arrayed with the opposition were the vocal though relatively impotent "flaming liberals" of the House, and, most important, the chairmen of the various substantive committees who felt their authority threatened by Appropriations. Many of the latter, normally conservative, deserted old alliances to protect the autonomy of their own roles. Chairman Harold Cooley of Agriculture, Chairman Brent Spence of Banking and Currency, Chairman Carl Vinson of Armed Services testified that the Smith Resolution would cripple important programs being operated under authority granted by their committees. Long-standing animosities sprang into the open. The refusal of the House Appropriations Committee at any time to hold open hearings, the only committee in either house to dare so to refuse, was vigorously criticized.

The most damaging blow to the Smith Resolution came when conservative, influential Carl Vinson of Georgia, who plays a kind of battling bantam rooster to Smith's lean, sedate turkey gobbler on the floor of the House, revealed his outspoken opposition. "I have followed the chairman of this committee around here for 30 years, and I plan to continue to follow him in the future," Vinson called down the table to Smith, "but I can not approve a resolution that would cause disaster to some of the nation's most important defense projects."

Behind the opposition of the liberals and the committee chairmen stood the undeclared, unreferred to, but decisive hostility to the Smith Resolution of Speaker of the House Sam Rayburn himself. Expressed on the Rules Committee by Rayburn's smart young protege, Richard Bolling of Missouri, the Speaker's influence served to hold in line six of the eight Democrats on Rules, enough to prevent the resolution from being reported to the floor. Recognizing that he lacked a majority on the Committee, Smith never called for a vote.

Conservatives in the House contented themselves during the remainder of the session with attempting to add amendments prohibiting debt transactions to the large authorization bills that went through Congress. Such an amendment was narrowly defeated on the airport bill, and actually carried on the housing bill. In the latter case the "back door spending" prohibition was eliminated in conference with the Senate.

On the Senate side a large part of the first session of the 86th Congress passed before the public debt transactions became an important issue. The Byrd Resolution continued to lie dormant, and the question of "back door spending" did not become a major topic of debate during the passage of the authorization bills.

Then, on July 1, during floor discussion of the Mutual Security bill, Senator Francis Case of South Dakota rose to make a point of order against a proposal by the Foreign Relations Committee to place development loans to foreign lands on a public debt transaction basis. According to Case, funds for these loans would be drawn out of the Treasury, and therefore such funds would constitute an appropriation as the term is used in the U.S. Constitution. If regarded as an appropriation, they must under the Rules of the Senate be passed upon by the Appropriations Committee.

Senator William Fulbright of Arkansas, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, caught completely off-guard, fought back savagely against a restriction which he felt would effectively put an end to development loans. Senator Aiken read to the Senate his list of programs supported by public debt transactions, and argued that if the Case point of order were sustained all of these programs would be subject to the same loss of freedom.

The chair, occupied by freshman Senator Frank Moss of Utah, ruled, on the advice of the Senate parliamentarian, against the point of order, justifying its ruling on the rather flimsy ground that if the Development Loan Fund were in fact an appropriation, then the Senate had been acting in violation of its own rules since the practice of public debt financing had first been embarked upon.

The conservatives immediately moved to override the ruling of the chair. A preliminary vote, 48 to 42, showed the Senate in favor of overriding the decision of the chair, that is, of holding that authorization of public debt transactions without consideration by Appropriations was a violation of the rules of the Senate. Most of the conservatives, plus a number of normal liberal-to-moderates who happened to be members of the Senate Appropriations Committee, voted to override. Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson, sensing that the Senate was prepared to throw all of the public debt programs into permanent jeopardy, managed to get an adjournment before a final vote.

What happened later that night remains a matter of controversy. Johnson claims that he made a rapid count of noses, tried without success to sway the judgments of several moderates who had voted in favor of the point of order, and concluded that if the Case motion came to a vote the following day it was certain to be carried. Some liberals contend, on the other hand, that during the night of July 1 and the morning of July 2 enough moderates who had sided with Case on the preliminary vote had been persuaded that programs dear to their hearts and dear to the hearts of their constituents would be imperiled if the point of order were sustained to reverse the result in the final test.

The test never came. Believing that defeat was inevitable, Johnson set about during the early hours of July 2 working out a compromise with Minority Leader Everett Dirksen, who had directed the Republican forces in support of Case the night before. The two leaders finally agreed, with the consent of Case, that the appeal from the chair's ruling on the point of order would be withdrawn, that the Development Loan Fund would be reduced in scope and would receive funds only through regular appropriations bills, and that the entire issue of "back door spending" would be referred to a special inquiry by the Senate Rules Committee.

At 6 a.m. Senator Fulbright was dragged out of bed and presented with the settlement. The chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, who regarded the reduction in the Development Loan Fund as a blow aimed at his own prestige and the effectiveness of the Mutual Security Bill, fretted and fumed but finally agreed. Later in the day Johnson and Dirksen raced their compromise onto the floor and got it approved by voice vote before the great majority of Senators had any idea what was happening. A final decision on the principle of public debt transactions had been avoided—but at the price of surrendering its practice in an area in which advocates believed that the freedom which it grants would have been particularly useful.

The public debt transaction issue was thereby fused as a time bomb that is almost certain to explode during the new session of Congress. It has become a battleground on which both conservatives and liberals seem prepared to stake their fundamental philosophies of government. Conservatives argue that if the authority of the Appropriations Committees is not maintained, the power of the purse over the executive bureaucracy on which all legislative power ultimately rests will gradually be reduced, with a corresponding decline in freedom for the individual citizen whose last recourse against the growing might of the federal government is the protection afforded him by his Congressman. Furthermore, conservatives claim, the Appropriations Committees can and should (though admittedly they do not now) regard individual appropriations in the context of a broad federal budget. Only in this way can Congressional fiscal responsibility be achieved. Such a broad approach is impossible if the Appropriations Committees do not in fact hold authority over all funds leaving the Treasury.

Liberals reply that both of these arguments are poppycock, meant to disguise conservative determination to win dominance for the traditionally conservative Appropriations Committees over the entire Congress. If some way is not found to get around the power of Appropriations, they say, the remainder of the two houses will become mere ratifying bodies, subject to the proposals brought forth by the two Committees holding the purse-strings. It is nonsense, in the liberal view, to say that Congress will lose control over its programs if these programs are not subjected to yearly review by Appropriations. The programs must be authorized by Congress in the first place, which is control enough. The Appropriations Committees, the liberal rebuttal concludes, are not and can not be budget-making bodies. These Committees have consistently concentrated on the substantive rather than the fiscal aspects of legislation, and they are precluded by their very natures from becoming Congressional counterparts of the Bureau of the Budget.

Whether any middle ground can be found between these two views remains to be seen. The Democratic leadership of both houses, in this as in other areas, has striven valiantly for several years to deal with the issue by suppressing it. This tactic, however, seems to be running out of time. Conservatives, stimulated by their partial victory in 1959, are likely soon to press for a clinching triumph. Liberals, angry with the moderate-to-conservative tone of a Congress that they had hoped, following November, 1958, to shape in their own image, seem willing to accept the challenge.

The majority of Congressmen appear torn between two antagonisms: one against the huge federal bureaucracy which they feel is increasingly unresponsive to the legislative will, and the other against the arrogance of their own Appropriations Committees. The first would lead them to safeguard any and all fiscal controls that Congress holds over the government; the second, coupled with concern for programs financed by public debt transactions in which they themselves are interested, would lead them to agree that some channel to the federal treasury must be maintained other than by way of Appropriations.

just standing there

by milton mayer

It is my dolorous duty—especially dolorous at this season of merriment—to reveal that the following persons have established at the edge of the town of Frederick, Maryland, behind high walls, a secret institution for the sole purpose of putting millions of their fellow-men to an agonized death:

Eleanor Roosevelt
Adlai Stevenson
Robert M. Hutchins
Joseph L. Rauh, Jr. of the Americans for Democratic Action.
Chairman Henry J. Cadbury of the American Friends Service Committee
Patrick Murphy Malin of the American Civil Liberties Union
Senator Hubert Humphrey
Senator Paul H. Douglas
Senator William Fulbright
Rev. Edward Elson, President Eisenhower's pastor at the National Presbyterian Church in Washington.

I have been able, by means which I am not at liberty to disclose, to learn that in this same secret establishment these same ten persons have stockpiled mosquitoes infected with plague; ticks with tularemia, relapsing fever, and Colorado fever; and houseflies with cholera, anthrax, and dysentery. The Messrs. Cadbury, Rauh, Fulbright, Elson, etc., have also developed there "to a remarkable state of technical perfection" (as they reported to a meeting of the American Medical Association) methods of infecting populations from the air with bacilli viruses and toxins. In addition, and in this same forbidden city at the edge of Frederick Town, these same persons are operating laboratories for the mass breeding of micro-organisms and greenhouses for investigating chemical dusts that will not only destroy basic food crops, but sterilize the land itself—just in case anybody survives their cholera, their viruses, and their plague.

The "cover" they are using is a cunning one, worthy of the most reprehensible "front" tactics of the Communists. First they associated themselves under the cognomen of "U.S. Taxpayers." Who would ever look for depravity under so gentle, even impotent, a rubric? Their very use of the initials "U.S." alone would disarm suspicion, as the Communists tried to disarm it by naming their front organizatitons after Jefferson, Lincoln, etc.

Then they placed the actual management of the operation under a set of stooges, or von Brauns, methodically brutalized to do uncomplainingly whatever the actual shareholders required of them, and to do it, what is more, for any set of shareholders who might come along, American, Russian Communist, or German Nazi. The stooges, who, having openly abdicated human responsibility, and on to whom, therefore, we should not permit the responsible shareholders to shift the guilt, were given the collective name "Army Chemical Corps," a designation contrived to persuade the yokels, of whom, I am afraid, there are many among us, that a hideous conspiracy against their fellow-men was (1) a scientific undertaking in the interest, as, of course, all science is, of the health and happiness of mankind; and (2) a branch of the honorable profession of American arms.

On top of it all, the actual shareholders set up the whole Satanic scheme as a public corporation; partly, I suppose, as a common tax-dodge, but in larger part to cover it with the good name of the American Republic and the American Constitution; to wrap it all up, in a word, in that same American Flag defended in this same town of Frederick by Barbara Fritchie.

The stooges, or hirelings, have been sent forth to try to raise public money (so impudent have the hidden villains become) to convince the selfsame public that what is going on at the edge of Frederick Town has an actual claim on public support. You may have seen some of their campaign handiwork in some of our leading magazines and newspapers recently. But only recently; up to a year or so ago the operation itself, and not just the ownership, was cloaked in total secrecy, lest the good people of Frederick, not to say the good people everywhere else, rear up and riot.

This campaign for public funds is, of course, addressed to Congress, but the perpetrators decided that no decent Congressman would provide such public funds unless his constituents compelled him to; thus the object of the campaign is to "soften up" the public to an acceptance of a cosmic deceit in which, as in Orwell, "health" means disease, "protection" means poisoning, and "security" mass murder.

I have studied the campaign literature; all of it. Nowhere have I found any indication of the identity of the actual shareholders, whose names I have disclosed above. A Congressional committee actually heard testimony—from one of the stooges—on behalf of the operation and never once thought to ask, "Who's behind it all?" or, "Who are its actual owners?" Still less, "Is it useful?" Least of all, "Is it American?" or "Is it Christian?"

Here is some of the testimony of the stooges:

"In addition to our work in the nerve gases, we are seeking new toxic substances which will attack other vulnerable systems of the body such as the eyes and the mind . . . The nerve gases are so potent that they afford some of the same possibilities for widespread effect from small scale delivery as do nuclear weapons."—Get that?—*some of the same possibilities . . . as do nuclear weapons.*—"These gases create casualties before their presence can be detected by human senses. Less than a minute of exposure is lethal. As gases they travel via the lungs, although a liquid droplet will penetrate the skin. They react with cholinesterase, so that nerve signals to the muscles are disrupted. Symptoms begin with respiratory troubles, salivation and perspiration,

vomiting, cramps, involuntary elimination, and lead through convulsions to death."

At this point in the testimony, apparently lest one of the Congressmen be moved, as none was, to express his queasiness about lingering death, the stooge said: "If you get this much of the GA type gas—the amount of ink that appears on the point of my ballpoint pen here—and protective action is not taken in one-half to two minutes, you will be dead in ten minutes."

The stooge also explained that if this was what the public wanted—the stooge was variously addressed as "General Stubbs," "General Creasy," etc.—the outfit owned and operated by Eleanor Roosevelt, Adlai Stevenson, Robert Hutchins, etc., could produce it, and was producing it, infinitely cheaper than any other mass extermination device the Congressmen might be interested in buying. One of the stooges' stooges, addressed as "Doctor," pointed out in the hall afterward that the household exterminator racket has always made fabulous profits on a miniscule investment. "Besides," he said, "those 'Household Exterminators' only exterminate the rats. We exterminate the household."

"Is this," said somebody at the edge of the group, "the 'germ warfare' that we used in Korea?"

"That we *didn't* use in Korea," said Doctor, slamming his glass on the table, "that the filthy, lying Communists *said* we used in Korea. General Bliss said at the time, 'We have not employed it and probably never will.' "

"Why not?" said another voice, still further out on the edge.

"General Bliss answered that," said Doctor. "He said, 'It is extremely doubtful if it could be used with any success except in a localized and isolated area, and then with a very minor degree of effectiveness.' "

A voice farthest out on the edge: "He was wrong about its uselessness, eh?"

Doctor: "Oh yes. Otherwise we wouldn't be spending all these millions on it now and asking for more."

Voice: "But he wasn't wrong about our not having used it in Korea?"

Doctor: "Oh, no. Not about that. He was right about that."

Voice: "Do you remember what President Roosevelt said in 1943?" [He was referring to the late husband of Eleanor Roosevelt, one of the shareholders of the disease factory at Frederick.]

Doctor: "Oh, yes. He said, 'I have been loath to believe that any nation, even our present enemies, could or would be willing to loose upon mankind such terrible and inhumane weapons.' "

Voice: "That's what he said, all right."

Doctor: "But General Rothschild of the U.S. Army said in the June *Harper's:* 'We must reject once and for all the position stated by President Roosevelt.' That's the new Party Line—I mean National Policy."

My efforts to track down the actual ownership of this trickily devised limited liability corporation called "Army Chemical Corps" led me to Frederick. The place is disguised as a fort and is called "Fort Detrick." It is no more a fort than your Sister Kate, and less of a Fort, if it comes to defending Frederick Town, than Barbara Fritchie was. You can't get in, of course—the owners have covered their own tracks so neatly that not even *they* can get in. But you can stand outside the main gate, on the corner of Seventh Avenue and Military Road.

It's a right smart windy corner at this season; cool, too. But I found a line of people standing outside. Just standing there; young people, old people, medium people, men, women, and children. Just standing there. At each end of the line there was a modest sign, big enough to be read by passing motorists, that read: VIGIL AT FT. DETRICK—AN APPEAL TO STOP PREPARATION FOR GERM WARFARE. I went up to the people and said, "What are you doing here?"

"Waiting on the Lord," said one of them, a long lean man known, I was told, as "Lawrence Scott." This "Scott" purports to be an ordained minister of the Christian Gospel, as do several other of the just-standees.

"Haven't you anything else to do?" I said.

"No," said "Scott," "as a matter of fact, we haven't."

"Who's paying you?" I said.

"Nobody," said "Scott."

"A likely story," I said to myself, and aloud: "Sounds un-American to me."

"What sounds un-American to you?" said "Scott."

"Just standing around doing nothing, and not being paid for it."

"Look at those soldiers over there," said "Scott," indicating the uniformed men at the gates of the "fort." "They're doing nothing like us."

"But they're being paid for it," I said.

"That's so," said "Scott," "you have me there."

"How long have you people been standing here?" I said.

"Since the first of July, 1959," said "Scott." It was now the first of December, 1959. "But," he went on, "not always the same people. Individuals and groups come from all over to stand here, more all the time. But we're going to need still more when the breeze gets brisker; winter's hard for the older people. More and more college students are coming, though; and young people's groups from the churches. Some local people come, too. We ask people to stand only two hours at a time."

"How long are you going to go on standing here?" I said.

"A long time, looks like," said "Scott." "Last summer we thought we'd stand here from the first to the fourth of July, but more people came on the fifth. So we're still here."

"Do you like it here?"

"Oh, yes," said "Scott," brightening.

"What do you think you're accomplishing?" I said.

"Nothing," said "Scott."

"Well, I'm damned."

"Looks like we all are," said "Scott," "the way things are going."

"You say," I said, "that you're 'waiting on the Lord.' What are you waiting on the Lord *for*?"

"To forgive us," said "Scott." "We're shareholders in this 'fort.' "

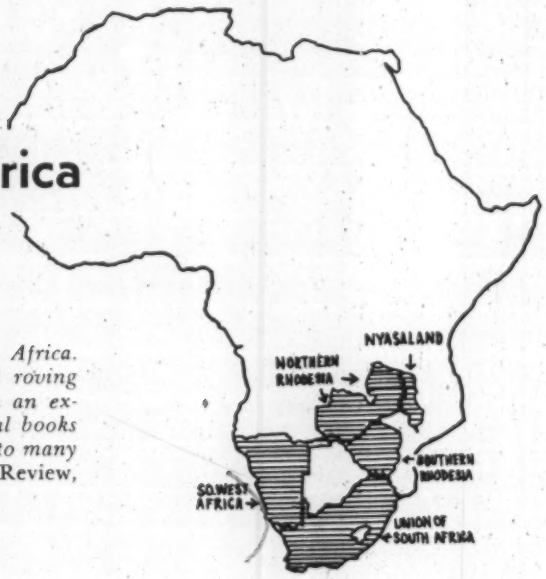
"Along with Senators Humphrey and Douglas and Rev. Edward Elson, the President's pastor?" I said.

"Along with them," said "Scott."

"Move over," I said, "make room for another shareholder."

The Breaking Strain in Africa

by SIDNEY LENS



This is the third of a series of articles by Mr. Lens on Africa. Others will follow in the February and March issues. A roving student of world affairs, Mr. Lens recently returned from an extensive journey through Africa. He is the author of several books on foreign affairs and American labor and has contributed to many American publications, including the New Republic, Yale Review, *and the* Harvard Business Quarterly.—THE EDITORS.

AS THE SUN SETS on European supremacy in Africa, tensions mount and rapport between the races becomes strained to the breaking point. The African, fearful of tricks and broken promises, is forced to overplay his hand; the white man, dreaming of a miracle which will preserve his privileged position, uses ruse or force—or both—to salvage what he can from the wreckage.

Patterns of rule that have been institutionalized over four generations do not die easily. Where the European has yielded political power, as in Morocco, he tries feverishly to hang onto economic power. Where he is on the verge of giving up control, as in the Belgian Congo, he applies divisive pressures to get an agreement in advance that will guarantee him control of the mines, farms, and other holdings that made him rich. And where the final battle for power is not yet fully joined, as in the Central African Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland or the Union of South Africa, he tightens his reign, either through artifice or naked terror.

Nowhere have the lines been drawn more taut than in that bastion of "white supremacy," the Union of South Africa. Severe racial segregation here has been the accepted order of things since the country was unified in 1910, but what distinguishes the present period of apartheid—separate development of the races—from previous practice is the total rigidity, the almost religious purposefulness in carrying it out. As the winds of African nationalism blow in from the north the Negro becomes more daring in his demands for equality—and the white extremist reacts by putting up stronger dykes.

The increasing tension in South Africa stems from an illogical but nonetheless compelling arithmetic. Not only is the country the richest and most industrialized of all Africa, but it has the greatest proportion of whites to Negroes. In Kenya there are 60,000 Europeans as against six million Africans; in Tanganyika 20,000 against nine million; in the Belgian Congo 110,000 against 13.5 million; in Algeria one million French against nine million Moslems. But in the Union of South Africa the ratio is three million Europeans against 9.5 million Negroes.

What has blinded the white man with fear is not only today's arithmetic, but, even more, tomorrow's. Africans are approximately equally divided—one-third living in the native reserves, another third working on the white man's farms, and the remaining third clustered around the cities, either as servants, or mine and factory workers. The Negroes in the reserves and on the farms are considered only a minor political danger, but those in and around the cities are a more formidable threat. As Chief Albert Luthuli, leader of the African National Congress, points out: "We have a weapon that can bring the white man to his senses. We not only raise him into the world, but we earn his riches for him when he is an adult, and cover his grave when he dies. Economically he is in our hands from birth to death." What the Nationalist government seeks is to reduce the politically threatening growing proportion of blacks to whites in the cities. The Nationalists, led by Prime Minister H. F. Verwoerd, are consumed with the notion

that salvation lies in statistical safeguards.

The state has mounted three major offensives to consolidate control over the African:

¶ It has tightened the movement of the people through the hated "pass book."

¶ It has developed compact Negro suburbs through the Group Areas Act.

¶ It has reversed the flow of Negroes from the reserve areas to the cities through the formation of so-called "Bantustans," ostensibly autonomous Negro "states."

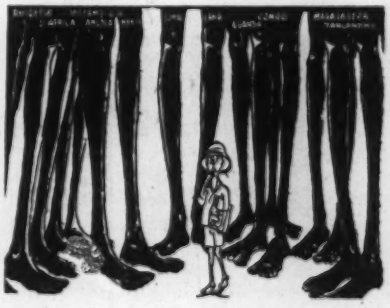
The bane of the native South African's existence is the "pass book." It is the halter around his neck. If he wants to leave his reserve he must have permission written into his pass book by the native commissioner. If he wants to look for work in the city he must have written authorization to stay for more than 72 hours. If he is interrogated by police the burden of proof that he has been in the city less than 72 hours is on him—not the police. When he finds a job he must have it entered on his papers, and when and if he changes jobs he must not only get official approval, but have it recorded. A thousand Africans a day—almost 400,000 a year—are convicted of some irregularity in their books. Many are deported to the reserves; others either pay a fine or work out a jail term on the white man's farms.

The regulations for the African are so complex—a 1,500 page book is being published compiling them—that no matter what he does he is "guilty" of something.

The laws, of course, are violated. Families do take root in urban areas where they are legally forbidden. Tens of thousands live illegally in the crowded quarters of fellow-tribesmen. Many thousands more live with servant girls in the huts provided for them behind the white man's home in the cities. Arrests, far from solving the problem, only aggravate social relationships, because the resulting disrepect for law creates a climate of criminality. South Africa ranks among the highest crime areas in the world. Africans who live in the exclusively native Alexandertown or Sophiatown or Dube are afraid to go home after dark. Few people in these areas sleep with a window open. The Union of South Africa in a typical year has 14 times as many murders in proportion to population as does London. The white man, too, lives under this strain. His windows have burglar alarms and he does not go out at night except in his automobile.

The rigid controls boomerang on the white man in many other ways. They affect production costs adversely and limit national expansion. The African worker is poorly paid—only one-fifth the average for white workers—but his labor costs come high. The system of job reservation, which allots the higher-paying positions to whites, makes both white and black labor chronically inefficient. The employer cannot upgrade a competent Negro nor choose the most efficient man for the job. The Negro is relatively inefficient because he knows he cannot advance; the white is inefficient because he knows he cannot be downgraded. The economy is hampered because the low wage standard for Africans seriously curtails the market. South Africa could grow greatly if it could only expand its internal as well as its external market. Many members of the new manufacturing class oppose the Verwoerd policy. Almost all favor segregation, but they would like it in milder doses and with greater flexibility.

But Dr. Verwoerd and his Afrikaner government (Afrikaner is the white descendant of the Dutch, not to be confused with African Negro) have no intention of relaxing. They are reconciled to paying whatever economic price is necessary to secure political domination.



Behrendt in Algemeen Handelsblad, Amsterdam

Growing Problem

The second weapon in this new offensive for supremacy is the Group Areas Act, passed in 1950 and amended in 1956. Thus, Sophiatown, a community inside Johannesburg which held 60,000 African inhabitants, many of whom owned freeholds, was declared a "European" area and its citizens forced to move to the specially constructed Meadowlands outside the city. This new location boasts better housing but the African cannot own property—he can only rent from the government. As a mere "work-seeker" rather than "settler" this is considered sufficient.

The practice of declaring an area "European" is becoming widespread. Indians who have operated stores and lived in Durban for generations are being forced into the hinterlands, where trade is enormously more difficult. One hundred thousand Africans in Durban are scheduled to be pushed out of town to less propitious locations. Colored people in Pretoria are to be resettled in the undeveloped area of Dererpoort. Indians in Johannesburg are to be moved 20 miles.

Each such "resettlement" leads to hundreds of tragedies. Families that have been living illegally in their present abodes are sent back to the reserves. Those that had freeholds are compensated only 65 to 80 per cent of the true value of their holdings. But the government continues, deluded with the notion that total separation of the races means total security for the white man.

To round out its policy, the Nationalist government has elaborated a program of "Bantustan"—a Negro homeland. Verwoerd and his associates intend to carve out five areas of South Africa where the Negroes, theoretically, will have autonomy. "We are setting up five little Ghanas," they say. One of them, Transkei, is already in existence. Here, in the "Ghanas," the Negro is expected to have his permanent home, under a Negro government, to which he will return after a period of work on the white man's farms or in his mines and factories. Most thinking men in South Africa consider the plan a pipedream. In Transkei Negroes have actually been put into positions of power, but they have been carefully

selected by the Verwoerd government and all their acts are subject to veto. It will be many generations, even under the best circumstances, before the Negro in the Bantustan gains any real autonomy. It will be many more generations—if ever—before he can make these areas economically viable. The motivation for Bantustan is not economic but political—reverse the tide of settlement by Africans in "white areas," send them "back home."

The combination of pass book control, the Group Areas Act, and the by-products of Bantustan, far from leading to racial harmony, has intensified hostilities. Hardly a day goes by without some kind of riot or act of defiance.

For weeks without end there are outbreaks—usually poorly organized and spontaneous. Three hundred Africans stone houses, schools, and other buildings at Sobantu Village, Maritzburg. Two are killed. Three fires sweep the North Coast sugar farms. Hundreds of women gather outside a jail, the invariable sticks in hand, to free 30 of their sisters incarcerated there. A thousand women with shields and spears surround the police camp at St. Faith's Anglican Mission. Women demolish a dipping tank in Campertown. One hundred and ninety-nine women are arrested at Mbumbulu and all but five are sentenced to 88 days in jail. The grievances are always the same: controls, controls, and more controls—and the hatred festers.

"This country," a young lawyer in Johannesburg told me, "will end in violent revolution. The only reason I stay here is because it is not yet certain whether it will take five years or fifty."

The organizations of the oppressed—in particular the African National Congress led by Chief Albert Luthuli—are handicapped by restrictions on their movement and the "suppression of communism" act. Many of them are "banned" or "restricted;" they are not arrested, but are prohibited from attending any meetings or moving out of certain isolated areas. Thirty are now being prosecuted in the great treason trial that promises to run a year. Yet none of the measures has the desired effect. South Africans wake each morning to new stories of potato boycotts, defiance campaigns, spontaneous riots, strikes. The African efforts seldom win major victories, but clearly they are building to a climax.

The impact is so great that it has driven wide schisms into the European community as well. A few months ago a major split occurred in the opposition United Party. This party has its following primarily among the English-speaking people, and is more moderate than the Afrikaner's National Party. Neither group is for racial integration, but the dissident wing of the United Party proposes a more rapid pace of concessions. There is also a Liberal Party, led by novelist Alan Paton, which stands for total integration. At the moment, however, its doctrine is ahead of the times. Since neither the Indians, Coloreds, or Africans have the right to vote, it finds recruitment tough sledding: the overwhelming majority of whites enjoy their privileges too much to think of integration.

This is the tragedy of South Africa. At a pivotal moment, when its economic superiority could make it the number one nation on the whole continent, it has failed to recognize historical necessity. The Union of South Africa has a national product of $6 billion a year, well divided among mining, manufacture, and agriculture. Its $600 million a year gold mining industry represents great strength because it has a depression-proof market and a stable price. With a fair racial policy, making progressive concessions to the African, and integrating him into the national life, South Africa could supply all the emergent African states with steel, know-how, and other economic essentials. But in its present course, mired in hysteria, incapable of turning with the surge of African nationalism, it is marching to inevitable catastrophe.

North of the Union of South Africa, in the Central African Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, another but a somewhat different racial drama is reaching its climax. Here the white man not only must give ground, but he relies as much on wile as on the big stick. In deeds, Sir Roy Welensky, federal prime minister, practices racial separation and white supremacy almost as fervently as do his South African neighbors, but he uses phrases about "partnership" to sugar-coat the pill. Since the "emergency" was declared last February, he has been avidly catering to African opinion at home as well as to world opinion abroad. Rhodesians and other members of the tenuous Central African Federation could hardly believe their ears last August when the prime minister laid down the gauntlet to those Europeans who say: "I'm getting out of this country before the black man takes over." "Go," said Welensky, "and good riddance to you, because there is certainly no place for you here. You stand nothing to lose by accepting the emerged African as a normal human being." This was the strongest obeisance to African opinion by the prime minister since the Federation was formed in 1953.

The talk of "racial partnership" is a deceptive packet—one part necessity and two parts guile. Welensky is a former leader of the white trade unions (which still idolize him), as well as a former prize fighter who needs a public relations gimmick to quiet certain storms in Britain. "Partnership" fits that bill.

To understand his strategy, one must unravel some of the complexities of political life in Central Africa. There are four separate governments in the Federation. The Federation itself is the result of a shot-gun marriage in 1953 of the Rhodesias—Northern and Southern—and Nyasaland. While the central government has certain responsibilities for defense, external affairs, transport, and the like, it is not a sovereign independent state. It is in a transitional period waiting for dominion status within the British Commonwealth. The three individual units of the Federation are similarly a hodge-podge. Southern Rhodesia is a dominion whose citizens (white) run their own parliamentary government. Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland are both protectorates, subject to the British crown, whose legislative coun-

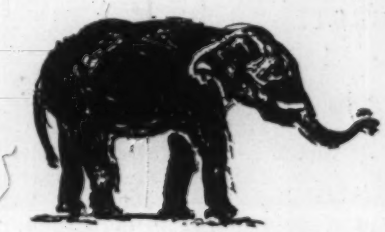
cils are partly appointed by the British and partly elected. Each, however, has a different constitution and method of administration.

Merging these diverse units, each with a different race ratio, into a single sovereignty was a clever device designed by Welensky and his predecessor, Lord Malvern, to enlarge the area of white supremacy. The sparkplug of the merger was Southern Rhodesia whose 200,000 whites (one-third of them Afrikaners) are the largest racist force in the Federation.

Though Welensky does not speak in the extreme terms of the Dominion Party, which is trying to toughen still further the already fantastically stiff voting requirements for Africans, he has the same objective—unhampered white rule. By federating Southern Rhodesia with the two protectorates he expected not only to make the economy more viable but to give protection to tenuous white governments in the north whose racial arithmetic was less favorable. Northern Rhodesia is rich in copper and other minerals, which produce more than a third of the Federation's national income, but it has only 72,000 whites against 2.2 million Africans. Nyasaland has 38 known mineral resources, but they are untapped, and the nation is extremely poor. Three hundred thousand of its Negro adult males emigrate each year to work in the mines of Northern Rhodesia and South Africa or the farms of Southern Rhodesia.

With nationalism on the march in Africa, under normal circumstances the two protectorates would have evolved to independence, with native African governments at their helm, but this was precisely what Welensky wanted to avoid. If Welensky's group could first make them part of a white-controlled Federation, they could later transform them into sections of an enlarged dominion totally out of Britain's jurisdiction and just as racist as South Africa.

The prime minister underestimated, however, the explosive force of black nationalism—particularly in Nyasaland. The 2,700,000 Nyasa were terrified at the idea of being permanently ruled by Welensky's racists. They demanded that the British take steps to assure eventual independence. With the return of Dr. Hastings Banda (who had practiced medicine in Britain for 30 years) to take over the leadership of the struggle, nationalism reached its peak. Thousands of Nyasa turned out to hear Banda explain the simple doctrine of self-determination. The Nyasaland National Congress grew from 83 branches to more than 200 in a few months. But the British refused to work out an acceptable compromise. When it became obvious that negotiations had failed, some Nyasa began to talk of "positive action"; the government took secret measures to throttle the movement. At the appropriate moment in February, 1959, the usual "assassination plot" was discovered; Dr. Banda and more than 1,000 other leaders were arrested and placed under detention without trial. In Southern Rhodesia a similar state of emergency was declared and many hundreds more were arrested.



The outcry in Britain against the terror of Federation and British police was so great that it became a major issue between the Labor Party and the Conservative government. The Devlin Commission's subsequent charge that Nyasaland was a "temporary police state" decisively upset Welensky's well-laid plans. In this surcharged atmosphere, the British government today would have great difficulty granting dominion status to the Federation. On the contrary, there is some possibility that the Africans in the two protectorates may win self-government in the near future.

Under these new circumstances, Welensky has been forced to give some ground. He keeps the African leaders under lock and key, but he makes minor concessions to assuage world opinion. Africans now can use the same windows in buying postage stamps as their European "betters." An African, Jasper Savanu, has been appointed parliamentary secretary, and another, Lawrence Vambe, press attache for the Federation in London. Soon the African will have the right to form legal trade unions, to enter certain trades now reserved for whites, to enjoy equal workmen's compensation, and to hold various civil service jobs. He has already won the doubtful right of playing the horse races and the lotteries, and "European only" signs on the park benches have been permitted to wear out. Unlike his apartheid-stricken brothers in South Africa, Welensky accepts Negroes into his political party—although they are still segregated in buses, trains, and hotels.

Poised on this shaky foundation, the Federation is under greater pressure from liberalism than South Africa. Not only is the African movement much stronger—particularly in Nyasaland—but there is a white leader, Garfield Todd, who sincerely espouses racial equality and has a sizable white as well as African following. Todd, once a missionary and former prime minister of Southern Rhodesia, has formed the Central Africa Party on a multi-racial basis and has been gaining support in the African community. When the government banned a meeting for him in an African suburb recently, 6,000 Africans came to white Salisbury by chartered bus and by foot to hear him. Many thousands have joined his C.A.P. Everywhere he goes in the Negro community Todd fills the vacuum left by the outlawing of the African Congress movements.

The relationship of forces in the Federation is such, therefore, that Welensky must temporarily discard his big stick in favor of wile. He spars for time and hopes for a peaceful enough climate to win his final objective. Some Europeans, however, feel less confidence. They are discussing the feasibility of splitting from the Federation to join with South Africa. The Dominion Party is proposing to carve the mining area out of Northern Rhodesia and merging that with Southern Rhodesia in a new "alliance." The fear and confusion that hang over the country have all but halted new immigration and have slackened the pace of economic progress. The shadow of Dr. Banda, though he sits in detention, hovers over the country like a dagger pointed at its racist heart.

Behind the Israeli Elections

The Old Man's Victory

by DON PERETZ

ISRAEL'S NOVEMBER elections constituted a surprise for most Israeli politicians—for the victors as much as for those who lost. The most startling election outcome was not the changes but the fact that the status quo had been strengthened, and that Israel will probably have another four years of the same political fare. Prime Minister David Ben Gurion's hand was made more powerful by the gains of his already dominant Mapai (moderate socialist) Party. Since "the Old Man," as he is affectionately called, has survived as Israel's most important single political factor during the first eleven years of parliamentary life under conditions more adverse than those which now face him, he no doubt will remain the most influential force in Israel during the next four years.

Mapai increased its voting strength in the 120-member Knesset (parliament) from 40 to 47 by capturing more than 38.5 per cent of the total vote. This is the largest vote received by any party in the four national elections since Israel became a state. The remaining seats will be divided among eleven other parties, each of which captured at least one per cent of the vote. This means that Israel will continue to be run by a Ben Gurion-led coalition of three or more parties with widely diversified platforms and objectives. Ben Gurion would like to form a broad coalition including as many of the minor parties as possible. The only groups with which he categorically refuses to sit in coalition are the right wing, nationalist Herut and the Communists. The latter suffered a severe drubbing, losing half of their former six Knesset seats.

Perhaps the election results were a surprise because only one new issue emerged during the campaign. In previous elections there was a whole spate of issues to plague a candidate. But by November, 1959, most of them had disappeared from the forefront of public consciousness. Earlier in the year rationing ended, indicating termination of the austerity under which the country had lived with tightened belts for more than a decade. Although the country is still importing nearly three times as much as it exports, the trade deficit was cut by more than 14 per cent during the past year, to say nothing of the improvement over the early days of independence when imports were about nine times those of exports. Statistics alone do not tell the story. Israeli newspapers in recent months have been crowded with advertisements extolling such rarities as automobiles, tape recorders, washing machines, and refrigerators. The pressure on labor exchanges where the unemployed used to flock for part-time work has declined—although there are still more than 8,000 full-time unemployed out of a 500,000 work force.

National security was no longer a paramount concern in the campaign. True, the country was having its difficulties over passage of Israeli cargo through the Suez Canal, but along the borders, where security could be greatly imperiled, there had been no major incidents for more than a year.

DON PERETZ is the author of "Israel and the Palestine Arabs," published by the Middle East Institute. He has served on the Institute of Mediterranean Affairs panel on the Palestine refugee problem.

Not until last summer—several months before the official opening of the campaign—did a new issue spring into the limelight.

It all began on the eve of July 9 when a drunkard resisting arrest in Haifa's Wadi Salib slum area was shot and wounded by the police. Rumors spread that the victim had been killed, and several hundred of the slum dwellers flocked to protest. When the police arrived, they were met with flying stones and soon had a bloody riot on their hands. They suppressed it with swinging clubs and tear gas.

Not only were the riots repeated on July 31, but similar incidents, in which new immigrants (mostly from North Africa) attacked the police, erupted into violence in other parts of the country. Investigations indicated that the causes varied. In Beersheba, at the northwestern tip of the Negev, rowdies had taken advantage of ruffled feelings to run amok. In the north, at Migdal Ha-Emek, north African immigrants were protesting against "unfair" allocation of labor by the Jewish National Fund.

There was enough of a pattern to indicate that the incidents, if not planned, were certainly inspired by a common sentiment—a feeling among the North African Jews that they were being discriminated against by the *Ashkenazim*, Jews from middle and northern Europe and other Western nations.

In Haifa the leader of the rioters was a 35-year-old former Casablanca police constable, David Ben Haroush. For firing on policemen and for several other crimes he received a two-year prison sentence. This was enough to make him a hero in the eyes of many of his compatriots and to dramatize his new political party, the North African Union of Immigrants.

Although Ben Haroush, probably because of his prison sentence, became the best known of the "new generation" of North African "political leaders" there were others less renowned. By the time of party registration for the November race, a dozen new groups were formed. Of these at least five were devoted to the cause of immigrants from "oriental" countries. Not only these five "spe-

cial" parties, but other groups also appealed to Israel's "oriental" Jews, that is, Jews from Arabic speaking or Muslim nations in Africa and Asia.

Even the major parties now seemed to be influenced by the demonstrations and the furor they caused. Nearly every Jewish party in the Knesset decided to play it safe and include among its top candidates at least one "oriental" Jew. The situation reached its most ridiculous point when the respectable middle-of-the-road General Zionists, noted for their support by the conservative businessmen, placed among their leading candidates the 23-year-old son of the *Sephardim* chief rabbi. Not only had the youth never been active in General Zionist politics, nor evinced any unusual political acumen or ability, but he had only recently been threatened with punishment for evading duty in the military services. His excuse was that, being a man of the cloth, or the son of a man of the cloth, he was entitled to exemption. So insincere seemed the General Zionist display of concern for "oriental" Jewish piety that the youthful zealot proved to be more of an embarrassment than an asset. Indeed, the General Zionists were among the three heavy losers in the election. Instead of eight, they now have only five Knesset members.

By election time there were two dozen parties, more than ever before in the country's parliamentary history. Other newcomers included the Bund Socialist Union, Israel's only avowedly anti-Zionist Jewish party; the Third Force Movement, a Trotskyite faction making its appeal to the Arab community; and three new Arab parties, two of which had splintered away from the Mapai-controlled Arab parties. The third new Arab group was sponsored by a left wing socialist party which lost heavily.

Although most observers did not expect any of these political fragments seriously to challenge the status quo, their very presence on the ballot seemed to indicate enough electoral unrest to cause grave concern over the election outcome. Certainly the increase in Mapai power was unexpected because not only was it responsible for the national weal, but for the woes of those dissenting.

But on election day not one of the new parties gained the minimum number of votes required to place a candidate in parliament. In all, the 12 new parties captured less than four per cent of the votes. The other 96 plus per cent was divided among the 12 parties which already held seats. The only significant changes were the increase in Mapai power and the decline of the General Zionist, Communists, and Achdut ha-Avoda—Poalei Zion (Unity of Labor —Workers of Zion) Party. In view of competition from the three new Arab parties which entered the race, the three existing Mapai-controlled Arab parties were lucky to lose none of their five Knesset members.

Thus, the new parliament will look much like the third Knesset. The prime minister will probably have less difficulty in controlling whatever new government he forms.

Although the personality of Prime Minister Ben Gurion is probably the greatest asset contributing to Mapai's victory, failure of the dozen new parties to score can also be attributed to the following reasons: most of them were organized only a few months before the election campaign and had no effective organization or party structure; none could produce nationally known figures to compete with Ben Gurion and other candidates of note; none had the financial resources for creating a new party or waging an effective campaign. Mapai is reported to have spent between 20 and 30 million pounds on the election; Herut, about five million, and other parties which receive funds through the United Jewish Appeal and Jewish Agency, between one and three million each. Such resources enabled Mapai to hold about 7,000 large and some 30,000 smaller meetings, and to publish millions of election leaflets, posters, and pamphlets.

The real victor in the elections was Ben Gurion, the man. On many occasions when his Mapai Party was in the dog-house or when one or another of its leaders was the butt of public criticism, "the Old Man" saved the day by personal intervention. I have known many Israelis who resented the machinations of Mapai, but who voted for the party because of "the Old Man." With the public at large, his popularity remains undiminished despite criticism of many individual acts by more politically sophisticated individuals. Although he may have made many political blunders since the state was established, he has suffered no personal defeats. A few months after he withdrew from the hurly-burly of party turmoil in 1955 to his desert retreat at Sade Boker in the nothern Negev to "farm, philosophize, and refresh his thinking," he returned to the capital like a conquering hero. No one had been able to supply the *elan*, the confidence, and the determination which his personality had given to government before his "retirement."

Ben Gurion is to Israel as DeGaulle is to France, Nehru to India, Nasser to Egypt, or Tito to Yugoslavia. He personifies the national assets in statecraft, not only to the man in the street but to many political figures lacking self-confidence. Without him many feel lost. As in other countries, in Israel there are critics of the nation's leader who think that they can do better. But none has the popular confidence, none so fits the popular image of "what we are" or "ought to be."

In its altercations with its Arab neighbors, Ben Gurion represents Israel's policy of two blows for one, and perhaps a few extra "just to show them that we mean it." Whether or not Israel can live without foreign assistance is a moot question, but "the Old Man" represents a determination to do so regardless of the economic facts of life. Israel has disavowed any intention of territorial expansion but its prime minister represents an unrealized, vaguely defined dream of a Zion redeemed. This was succinctly stated after the Israeli occupation of Sinai when he told the Knesset that Israel had "liberated" territory which until 1,400 years ago had been Jewish. Although the state officially disclaims hegemony over Jews abroad, Ben Gurion's desire to

"ingather" several more millions, including many thousands of young Americans, is no secret. He also represents the spirit of compromise among all who are "good" Jews—that is, according to his definition. This excludes Communists, anti-Zionists, and, for the time being, the leaders of Herut, whom Ben Gurion has never forgiven for their abortive attempts to challenge the government with military force during the Liberation War.

Mapai did not hesitate to play up "the Old Man's" personality and the obvious fact that he desired a Mapai victory during the recent campaign. Ben Gurion even ventured into Wadi Salib, bringing the electoral battle to the very front of greatest insecurity. Ben Haroush collected fewer than a hundred votes at the battle scene, although his party won more than any of the others which were defeated—still less than one per cent of the total.

More than any other Israeli politician, Ben Gurion has a special appeal to Jews from Middle Eastern countries. (Together with the 10 per cent Arab minority, the non-European stock of Israel constitutes about 60 per cent of the total population.) Large numbers of "oriental" Jews follow the same cultural patterns in voting as do the majority populations in the underdeveloped Middle Eastern countries from which they came; and they are subject to the same appeals which influence their former Arab, Persian, or Kurdish neighbors. Important is the degree to which a figure who combines both a father image and that of a powerful clan leader can rally support for himself. The unvanquished, but down-to-earth, kindly, white-haloed father, whose anger at injustice (or when he is crossed) is proverbial in the land—David Ben Gurion the "oriental's" image of patriarch, military commander, egalitarian, and mystic who vocalizes Israel's mission and sense of destiny.

Herut's Menachem Beign unsuccessfully attempted to throw the mantle of "prophet to the disaffected" over his own shoulders. A major plank in his party platform was justice for the "orientals." But Herut did no better than most observers expected, when it increased its 15 Knesset seats to 17, thus remaining the country's second party.

For the next four years influences which have colored the political life of Israel until today will continue, since a coalition government will remain. Although Ben Gurion is the strongest single influence, he has not yet mastered the majority necessary to run a government without compromise. With the support of the five Mapai-controlled Arabs, Ben Gurion will be nine votes short of a parliamentary majority. His party must therefore join with at least one other to its right, either the declining General Zionists, the Progressives, or the religious parties. The left is no longer in a position to bargain for cabinet seats, and will have to take what is offered, or nothing at all.

Mapai's moderate socialist program based on a mixed economy controlled by the General Federation of Labor (Histadrut), small to medium-large private capital, government, and the Jewish Agency, will continue—perhaps with some relaxation of controls following the pattern of the last year.

The rabbinate will maintain its influential role in political life since the National Religious Front (orthodox) won an additional seat and now controls an even dozen. Together with the six seats retained by the Torah Religious Front (ultra-orthodox), the religious groups comprise an effective parliamentary bloc which will no doubt continue to exert a potent influence on national legislation. Altering the existing religious-political compromise would probably create disruptive effects which Mapai would find more disadvantageous than any benefit which might result from attempts to curtail rabbinical power. This means that personal status matters (marriage, divorce) will remain under clerical control (orthodox-Jewish, Christian, and Muslim) and that much of the proscriptive legislation which affects the nation's everyday life will remain on the books. Only Kosher meat may be imported, pig raising will be outlawed in Jewish districts, the ban on Sabbath public transport will continue in most of the country, and other such rabbinical-dictated prohibitions will prevail.

Ben Gurion's foreign policy was strengthened by the loss of votes on the left. Most other parties go along with Mapai on its approach to the East-West conflict and relations with the neighboring Arab states. Mapan, another left-socialist and neutralist-oriented party, scored a victory by retaining its nine seats in the face of a strong middle-of-the-road trend. But its former partner in neutralism, Abdut ha-Avoda, now is represented by only seven instead of ten Knesset members. Now the prime minister will be even freer to pursue his policy of close identification with the West and insistence on the status quo as a basis for any settlement with the Arabs.

Only in the matter of electoral reform is Ben Gurion liable to meet opposition. The desire for a two party system is one of his few unrealized immediate political aspirations. Electoral reform which would facilitate that realization was a major debating point in the last election. If Mapai electoral strength continues to grow in the next few years, perhaps it will become a majority party without major electoral reform. But continued success depends in large measure on "the Old Man." His present vigor and health seem to ensure another four years of personal leadership. Even in 1963 he will still be younger than Konrad Adenauer and Korea's President Syngman Rhee are today. If he rules another decade, Israel may well become the two party state he envisages.

BRITISH LABOR'S DILEMMA

by MORGAN THOMSON

London

THE BRITISH LABOR PARTY, defeated for the third time running in a general election, is engaged in a heart-searching reappraisal of its whole political position.

One of the basic theories of Britain's two party system is that the political pendulum swings at regular intervals and replaces Government with Opposition. But the Labor Party's trouble is that the pendulum has stuck. The political hat-trick by the Conservative government under the leadership of Harold Macmillan is a record unique in British politics, but even more significant is that it has increased its majority each time until now it has a comfortable margin of 100 votes in the House of Commons. (This does not make an anti-Labor landslide. Labor still commands 12,216,000 votes against 13,-836,000 for the Conservatives, but its voting support has dropped by 1,800,-000 since 1951.)

Yet the Conservative government has far from a popular record of administration behind it during its more than four years of office. It divided the country deeply over Suez and presented the voters with a billion dollar bill for a military campaign that was a muddle and a failure on all counts. In January, 1957, Macmillan inherited from the ailing Eden a demoralized party which was later to suffer resignations of a number of its most powerful personalities. He faced an economic recession which he decided to ride by creating the highest postwar level of unemployment and by putting up the rents of millions of homes where there was still government control. Up to 15 months ago all the public opinion polls showed Labor with a big lead. Yet the tide turned dramatically. Why?

The answer is that the Conservatives succeeded in reversing the recession in nice time for the election, and Harold Macmillan won the election on the simple slogan of "prosperity" —to which he added the shrewd postscript, "Don't let Labor ruin it."

The important fact is that Britain has crossed the threshold of the affluent society. Many of the workers who used to cycle to work now drive in their own automobiles. A number of features of modern life hitherto regarded in Britain as distinctively American have made their appearance on this side of the Atlantic in the last half-decade. Commercial advertisements have been allowed for the first time on the screens of millions of new TV sets. Super-markets are springing up, and there is a buying boom in refrigerators. Credit buying has soared to unimagined heights. Buying on time—what the British call the "never-never"—used to be frowned on as improvident and not quite respectable. Now everyone does it.

"You've never had it so good" was an election-winning Conservative catch-phrase. "It ought to be, 'You've *never-never* had it so good,' " wisecracked one heckler at an election meeting.

That prosperity was the key to this election is proved by the fact that Labor gained seats in areas of older and declining industry like Scotland and Wales where there is local unemployment running two to three times what it is elsewhere.

MORGAN THOMSON, former editor of the Glasgow Forward, is a Laborite member of the House of Commons.

But this merely underlines the fundamental dilemma in which the Labor Party finds itself. Traditionally it has been the party of the working-class crusading against poverty and unemployment. A significant number of workers now regard themselves as joining the ranks of middle-class car owners. Prosperity has produced new adherents to the built-in snobbery of the British people. Blatant poverty has now disappeared except among some groups of the elderly, the widowed, and the chronic sick. And unemployment remains a problem of localized areas that are mainly pro-Labor in any case.

This is therefore much more than an ordinary election defeat for Labor. It poses for the party the whole question of the picture of itself it sets out to give the increasingly affluent British electorate. In the prosperous areas around London and Birmingham—the Detroit of the British auto industry—it was significant that the tiny Liberal Party for the first time began to take more Labor votes than Conservative votes when it intervened between the two big parties. The young married couples with small children on the new housing estates were breaking away from the traditional working-class loyalty of their parents. How can they be won back?

A good deal of the argument centers round two questions—the nationalization of industry—particularly steel; and the close association between the Labor Party and the trade unions.

In economic theory Labor is a Socialist party. Its 40-year-old constitution expresses a belief in "the common ownership of the means of production." In economic practice Labor has been pragmatic about public ownership—as indeed the Conservatives have. The 1945 Labor government set up state corporations with monopoly powers in basic industries or utilities like coal, steel, transport, electricity, and airways. The Conservatives denationalized only steel and road haulage (and not all of them) and left the rest in public ownership.

In this election Labor proposed no fresh public ownership but only the re-nationalization of steel and road

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haulage. The actual difference between the election problems of the two parties on public ownership was therefore a comparatively recent one. But during the last few years big business has run a lavish advertising campaign against nationalization. This campaign gave the public a caricature of Labor as the party of wholesale nationalization and bureaucratic state control—and it certainly had its effect.

Some influential Labor voices now argue that Labor should recognize that the voters are against further public ownership and that the party should announce firmly that it accepts the present frontiers between the public and private sectors. Others argue that this is sacrificing principle to expediency and will make the party's electoral position worse instead of better. There are also some (mainly outside Labor's ranks) who say that Labor and the trade unions should separate and become like the Democrats and the AFL-CIO in their relationships. The trade unions are not popular with British public opinion at present, and although 5,500,000 trade unionists pay Labor Party dues through their unions, a substantial number of trade unionists voted Conservative.

Yet there is no likelihood of the close and historic links between the Labor Party and the trade unions being broken. There will, however, be trade union efforts to make their own machinery more modern and effective for dealing with wildcat strikes which brought Labor a lot of electoral unpopularity. At the same time there is pressure for a big public relations effort by the unions to match private enterprise and to get themselves across to the public as a responsible, constructive force.

One of the striking things about these arguments which go right to the center of the very nature of the Labor Party is that they are being conducted without any clash of personalities. The enemies of Labor widely prophesied that in defeat Aneurin Bevan would reopen the struggle for leadership with Hugh Gaitskell, a struggle which deeply divided the party from 1951 to 1956. Instead, Bevan has accepted the post of deputy leader to Gaitskell, whose personal position has been strengthened by a brilliant TV election campaign which turned a new and relatively unknown political leader into a national figure.

Gaitskell will need all his new authority for steering his party through these uncharted waters of greater prosperity. He himself—undoctrinaire about nationalization—is a deeply idealistic Socialist. In an address before a special Labor Party conference called in late November to assess recent defeats, Gaitskell seemed to back away from nationalization. Although he argued that he could not agree "that we have reached the frontier of public ownership as a whole," he went on to say: "It's no use waving the banners of a bygone age. We don't aim to nationalize every private firm or to create an endless series of state monopolies." Nationalization, he said, in the face of shouts of protest from among the 3,000 delegates, should not be regarded as "the be-all and end-all of the movement."*

Gaitskell believes that Labor must stand for both maximizing and civilizing prosperity—making sure that there is full employment and that the under-privileged at home in Britain and the hungry and illiterate in Asia and Africa have their fair share of expanding production. He believes that Labor can appeal to the young by giving them educational and job opportunities on a wider scale than the Conservatives who still distribute many of the community's key jobs along the "old boy" network of aristocratic connections and having attended the right sort of expensive school.

British Labor is, therefore, tackling the task of inspiring a majority of the electorate with a modern and meaningful picture of their party in a Britain which they are painfully aware will never—since October 8, 1959—be the same again.

*Gaitskell's address provoked a bitter wrangle in Labor Party ranks. The special conference broke up with delegates "fighting like Kilkenny cats," Drew Middleton reported to the New York *Times*. "At this rate," one member of the National Executive said, "the Tories will be in power for another 10 years." Aneurin Bevan, deputy leader of the party, rejected the Gaitskell position on nationalization. Further large-scale nationalization, he said, "is absolutely inevitable."—THE EDITORS.

TV's real sickness—and a possible cure

by BERNARD ASBELL

AND NOW WE PRESENT as a public service a one-minute history of television. In 1941, a New York experimental station transmitted an image of the Louis-Conn fight; owners of the city's several hundred television receivers invited their neighbors into strangely darkened living rooms to behold, awe-struck, the most breath-taking instrument for art, learning, and amusement ever devised. In 1950, with a co-axial cable connecting leading cities, Milton Berle emerged as "Mr. Television," so powerful a cultural force that during his hour of comedy every Tuesday night the water pressure built up because almost nobody would go to the bathroom. In 1954, the widespread loving of Lucy threatened to murder Monday as America's shopping night. In 1956, the makers of Philip Morris cigarettes rocked Madison Avenue with the news that they had decided to drop their sponsorship of "I Love Lucy"; true, it was the most popular program in all of television but it was a failure—it was not selling cigarettes. In 1957, the "adult Western" came of age as a new art form; one success was copied by another. In 1958, Westerns were topped by an even more stunning creation, the big money quiz; eggheads replaced gun-toters as national heroes, Geritol for tired blood was selling by the tank car, and Revlon stock spurted dizzily on Wall Street. And in 1959, the roof fell in.

After the traumatic shock of the quiz scandals came the widespread revelations of disk jockeys taking "payola"—bribes to influence their supposedly aesthetic choices in music. Then the Federal Trade Commission, somewhat to the embarrassment of a milquetoast Federal Communications Commission that should have done it first, threatened to investigate lies told by TV advertisers.

The FCC, like everybody else, is appalled at the apparent abandonment of integrity in broadcasting. But the evidence should surprise no one. TV has not abandoned its integrity; it never really had any. Our system of broadcasting, by ranking the sponsor highest in the cultural chain of command, inevitably invites the behavior we now call scandalous. It is the most elaborate form of "payola" ever devised. It corrodes and corrupts every individual engaged in broadcasting from the network board chairman down to the prop man (who must make sure, if a program is sponsored by a beer, that no actor is sipping ginger ale).

Proposals for reforming television are sprouting all over the landscape like late summer ragweed. NBC's Robert Kintner proposes with a fundamental bang on the table that a law be passed to outlaw dishonest quiz shows. CBS wants to help eliminate corruption by banning canned laughter. Outside critics have come up with more serious proposals. One is to legalize pay-TV, not as a basic cure but as a step towards freeing TV for unfettered service to the public.

The demand gaining most momentum, however, is that TV programmers acquire the same independence from advertisers that one finds among writers and editors of our best newspapers and magazines.

Recently I asked an editorial veteran if he could define in a word the chief personality ingredient of a good journalist. The editor laughed and said, "He's suspicious. Skeptical." (Without knowing it, he was echoing Ernest Hemingway who recently said, less delicately, that the fundamental need of a creative artist is "a built-in crap detector.")

Then I asked a network station program director similarly to type the television man. Thoughtfully, and with some pride, he said, "He's a juggler. He's got to satisfy the network, the agency, the sponsor, and the sponsor's wife without destroying too much of what he started with, his creative idea. And he has to juggle time. He has, say, 26 minutes, not a second more, not a second less, and he has to insert the commercials where they'll do the most good without damaging the show too much. He needs the talent of a great compromiser. No, better say he has to be *flexible*. 'Compromise' sounds like a negative word."

To what kind of action does such a philosophy, which pervades all of television, lead?

Millions were shocked to learn that Charles Van Doren, the underpaid schoolteacher-son of a distinguished father, was financially seduced by a quiz producer who argued, "What's the difference if we slip you the answers? This is show business." But the really shocking thing is that the quiz producer, confronted by his own words, still couldn't get through his head that he had done anything wrong.

In Detroit, Tom Clay, a disk jockey, was fired by WJBK after he blithely admitted he had taken money for playing certain records instead of others. Another WJBK disk jockey, Jack LeGoff, incensed over the raw deal handed his good friend, Clay, editorialized on the air that payola is "a part of American business." (The embarrassed station promptly fired him, too.) The reasoning of the quiz producer and the disk jockeys was in line with the established morality of American broadcasting. According to that simple

BERNARD ASBELL writes on broadcasting and music for Billboard and teaches at the University of Chicago Adult Education Center. His articles have appeared in Harper's, The Saturday Evening Post, Horizon, The Reporter, Coronet, and other publications.

morality, whoever pays the piper calls the tune. The public is in no position to squawk, since programs are gift horses, and beggars can't be choosers.

How, then, does that morality get changed? How can we supplant TV's timid juggler with the kind of tough-minded fellow who seeks truth and artfulness for their own sakes and not for the sake of selling something else? And if such a miracle can be accomplished, how can we expect that advertisers will continue to pay the bills?

To answer these questions, we must look again into the difference between the editorial and broadcasting minds. The editor negotiates from strength; the broadcaster from weakness. The editor says to the advertiser (if he talks to him at all): "My job is to produce a high circulation. After I produce that circulation, we sell you the right to address our readers. The advertising department is down the hall. If you have something to say, please go see them." The broadcaster, while he could rely on the same source of strength, chooses not to speak so boldly. The reason is simple. According to our unique system of broadcasting, the advertiser buys more than the right to a 60-second blurb. He buys the whole shebang—the drama, the music, the quizmaster, the quiz questions, the quiz answers, and even the bank guard who is supposed to protect the answers from cheaters. This practice has become so ordinary that we have lost sight of how preposterous it is.

Recently Rod Serling, a highly talented TV writer, told of a playwright who was directed to change the word "lucky" to "fortunate" and to change "American" to "United States." His play was to be sponsored by a cigarette—not Luckies and not a product of the American Tobacco Company. Surely no responsible official of the sponsoring company would have stooped to so ludicrous a request. But that's just the point. Network decision-makers are so obsequious before the whims of the sponsor that they anticipate those whims to the point of absurdity. This is the direction in which some of the most creative energies in TV are spent.

It is too late to reconsider the presence of advertisers in television. They crept in back in 1924 without being invited (no law specifically permits the sale of advertising on the air), and the FCC passively presided as they took over.

But the time is ripe for doing something else. Let the *advertisers* stay, but it's time to do away with the *sponsors*.

The source of television's sickness, which it inherited from radio, is the sale to advertisers of blocks of time—not just advertising time, but the entertainment time as well, which ought by right to belong to the public. This practice produces a whole syndrome of ills. It invites censorship, since the sponsor feels—and is—answerable for everything that goes on the air. It invites corruption because it emphasizes television as a money-making instrument over its more important functions. It invites timidity on the part of all its creative people since their work is judged ultimately for its value to the sponsor. Finally, it gives sponsors the power of life and death over programs.

What entices an advertiser into buying a program is that he hitches his selling wagon to the popularity of a star, an advantage known lovingly in the trade as "sponsor identification." For example, General Motors perceives that Americans have taken Dinah Shore into their hearts. She wins people emotionally as a piece of merchandise cannot be expected to do. But some of that emotional appeal, the sponsor hopes, might be made to rub off. So for a large sum of money, G.M. arranges that its Chevrolet shall be the sole commercial beneficiary of Miss Shore's charms. Over public air waves and through our private picture tubes, she sings praises to the Chevy, rides it around the studio floor, and packages an hour of diversion all calculated to make us look kindly upon a single brand of automobile. Any creative ideas conflicting with this aim are stricken out. In fact, they are never created.

This, no matter how you slice it, is payola.

Television programmers will begin to come of age—and begin to come clean—when they narrow their aims down to a single one: playing to the public for its own sake. This means a studied lack of concern for who is advertising, what he is advertising, and how much he is paying. It means the program director must acquire the moral strength to gaze haughtily at an advertising agency man who so much as strolls into a studio and demand of him, "What are you doing here? Our sales department is down the hall."

This also means that the concept of "sponsor identification" with any program must be wiped as clean from television practice as the fixed quiz show. It is ultimately just as corrupt, and its implications are more profound.

Such a principle readily suggests its own method. A network or station must seek its revenue from the sale of advertising announcements, or "spots," with no reference to program content. Such spots could be sold at one price for prime evening (known as "Class A") time, when average ratings are high; at another price for early evening or late night ("Class B") time; and still another for daytime.

The placement of one advertiser's spots should be shifted from week to week. This would protect the advertiser as well as the public. It would protect the public by eliminating the economic dependence of any program on the approval of an advertiser. It would protect the advertiser by giving him the chance to cash in on a high-rating program if at another time his spot got caught in a low-rating program. Further, this system would give each advertiser a stake in the improvement of the *whole* of television as a public instrument. He would not be stuck with the onus of controversial programs, nor with letters from cranks, so he, too, would have an interest in satisfied audiences, as well as large ones. This is what the advertiser now seeks in the better newspapers and magazines.

This plan would be quite a departure for American TV, but is it impractical? Not at all. It is working in England, to the benefit of both the advertisers and the public.

When we think of British TV, many of us think only of the BBC, which carries no advertising. (Nor is it government-subsidized. It is financed by collecting a license fee

from all TV set owners.) The BBC has recently become, in a sense, a minor part of British TV. The ratings are swinging heavily toward a five-year-old network called ITA (Independent Television Authority), completely and handsomely financed by advertising. The ITA, government-owned, grants franchises to "program contractors," independent companies something like our networks. Advertising, sold by these contractors, is sandwiched between programs and in the middle of them. But an advertiser is given no assurance as to what program his commercial will accompany. Advertising agencies, which pay up to $3,100 a minute, are happy for the privilege, and they know that the content of programs is none of their business. The advertiser-oriented *Wall Street Journal* recently reported from London:

"It's a system ringed with restrictions that would send shudders all along Madison Avenue. Yet in many ways it is freer than its American counterpart in program content. Over here, you can't use either a real or make-believe doctor or a nurse in a commercial. But you can do a full hour show about abortion, for example."

Most advertisers who read this or any other proposal to eliminate "sponsor identification" will fight the proposal, despite its possible advantages. One of their chief arguments is that while television ethics are always being compared with that of the printed media, they are not comparable. In a newspaper or magazine, they allow, there is a clean division between editorial content and ads. If one article is dull, the reader turns to another. This is good for the advertiser. In the act of thumbing through, the reader skims the ads as well. The advertiser assumes the burden of stopping the reader's eye. All he wants the publisher to do is to provide the promised number of readers.

The problem in television, the advertiser continues, is not the same. Programs are a function of time. If a program is dull, the viewer doesn't flip a page. He flips a dial—right into the arms of a competing network. Thus the advertiser, no matter how eye-stopping his commercials, loses his potential audience because of a single creative (or "editorial") blunder. This is why the advertiser contends—with support by the networks and, passively as usual, by the FCC—that he has so great a stake in the content of programs.

One Program That Would Get Top Rating

Let it be said in his defense that the advertiser pays heavily for the privilege of manipulating the content of our culture. In a mass magazine, he can buy a page for fifteen to twenty thousand dollars. He can buy it once or twice or thirteen times, as he wishes. But in TV, a single half-hour show may cost a hundred thousand dollars. To get prime time, the sponsor might have to commit himself to 39 or 52 weeks, four or five million dollars a year. Such prices do not encourage his support of laissez-faire in show business.

But if advertisers were not forced to commit so much, they would not be so compelled to tamper with programs. Many, in fact, fear the system of sponsor identification. They risk a huge bankroll on an untried program, and what if it's a bust? This group of advertisers would prefer to spread their commercials among a variety of programs, reducing their dependence on the success of a single show.

Undoubtedly some sponsors would reduce their television budgets if they were not required to buy whole programs. But this loss to television's treasury might be more than offset by the entrance of other advertisers who cannot afford to buy whole programs but who would readily buy quantities of spot announcements.

Still, the big advertisers insist on their right to run the air waves. C. Terence Clyne, vice-president of McCann-Erickson, Inc., one of the larger advertising agencies, says: "If Chevrolet couldn't be closely associated with Dinah Shore, they certainly wouldn't be willing to shell out the kind of money they do now."

Frederick Wardenburg, advertising director of DuPont Co., is even more brusque: "Identification with a program is important to us, so we have to have control over programming."

The producer of "Omnibus," Robert Saudek, however, presents opposite evidence. For seven years he has sold his program to advertisers on a spot announcement, no-sponsor basis. Says Saudek: "We found thirteen sponsors who were willing to spend 24 million dollars advertising their products on Omnibus, and they didn't know the program content until they got the press releases."

Before television is ever converted to a no-sponsor basis of program independence, the advertisers and networks can be relied upon to invent the specter of a dozen kinds of doom. Like all humans, they resist change. But doom will be forestalled by a simple fact. Television is the most engrossing, the most communicative, and the *massest* mass medium ever known to man. No matter how they might threaten to try, mass advertisers couldn't resist it. Nor would they have the slightest intention of trying.

When they prophesy doom, what they really mean is that a change will be inconvenient. It will indeed. But until now a greater inconvenience has been suffered by the public, for whose convenience and interest television stations are licensed to operate and make money.

It is altogether possible that if television were freed from sponsorship, it might become even more valuable as an advertising medium. The nation would come to regard its output of entertainment and information with less cynicism and more confidence. But a higher consideration is that television would at last be free to serve its public with dignity, integrity, and a creative energy that its proprietors, the people, have all these years deserved.

THE PEOPLE'S FORUM

The Dilemma

Dear Sirs:

Certainly the American people want peace. No one can really doubt this who knows them. But they also want jobs in order to feed, clothe, house, educate, and provide for the general welfare of their children and themselves.

The American government also wants peace, but the government is not certain that the people will accept the tax burdens necessary for full employment unless they are frightened by some external "enemy."

In the opinion of many, this is the dilemma: Full employment through fear of the classical "enemy at the gates," or unemployment with peace. The fact that full employment is clearly obtainable with proper planning, under conditions of real peace, does not alter the fact that this is more difficult to achieve, especially emotionally. For there will be no bands playing, no flags waving, no enemy to hate, in an economy building homes, schools, hospitals, playgrounds, parks, cultural centers, while at the same time tearing down slums.

It is this dilemma, many competent students think, which is responsible for our government's ambivalent attitude towards peace. While we do not dare make peace, we, also, dare not fight a thermonuclear war; therefore, the Cold War must go on. We must hate the enemy, but we dare not destroy him lest we, in turn, also be destroyed.

HUGH B. HESTER
Brig Gen., U.S. Army, Ret.
Philadelphia, Pa.

Anti-American Explosions

Dear Sirs:

Recently there was a report of riots in Japan in opposition to the U.S.-Japan "Mutual Security Treaty" which has been under revision for more than a year.

In answer to a question at his press conference, Secretary of State Christian Herter said he did not care to discuss the terms of the treaty. Doesn't it seem odd that a major U.S. policy—which is known in Japan and has caused continuous controversy there, both in the Diet, and among the public—should be kept secret from the American public? Shouldn't we be told what it is that the Japanese oppose? The automatic answer that only Communists object cannot be accepted, since actual Communists must be almost as scarce in Japan as they are in our country.

The record shows that we are constantly being surprised by anti-American explosions in various parts of the world. Perhaps the most important reason for this surprise is our persistent failure to examine our own controversial policies realistically from the point of view of the opposition. The situation in Japan is explosive. Now is the time to ask whether the revised Treaty will not exaggerate rather than diminish the explosive factors.

HELEN MEARS
New York, N.Y.

Carey Elaborates

Dear Sirs:

Harry Fleischman's article "Is Labor Color-Blind?" (November issue) is a penetrating and comprehensive assessment of the state of civil rights in the American labor movement today.

I have no criticism to offer, only a brief elaboration of the paragraph dealing with my proposal on civil rights. My proposal went considerably beyond a mere suggestion that the compliance subcommittee "be made up exclusively of AFL-CIO vice-presidents. . . ." I specified that this subcommittee "be composed exclusively of members of the executive council *interested in bringing about compliance with the AFL-CIO constitution with regard to civil rights.*"

In short, I sought—and still seek—a compliance subcommittee comprising men whose dedication to civil rights and democratic liberties is unquestioned and whose record is militantly irreproachable. The distinction, I believe, is important.

JAMES B. CAREY
President
International Union of
Electrical, Radio and
Machine Workers
Washington, D.C.

French Bomb Protest

Dear Sirs:

An increasing number of people throughout the world are no longer willing to stand by and watch while their governments prepare for nuclear war.

A great deal of concern has been expressed over the French proposal to test an atomic bomb in the Sahara Desert. The loudest protests so far have come from the people of Nigeria and Ghana. For the prevailing wind from the desert, which blows continuously for two months during the dry season, may carry radioactive particles of sand over their countries. Morocco and French Sudan are also among the countries that have objected to the tests.

The British Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War is planning to make a dramatic protest by sending an international group into the test area in the Sahara. This group, by running the risk of imprisonment, injury, or death, hopes to remind the world of the extreme danger and folly of testing nuclear weapons, and of allowing ownership of such armaments to spread to yet another country. They aim to demonstrate the real meaning of these tests, and so stir the imagination and rouse the conscience of people everywhere to take action against atomic and hydrogen bombs before it is too late.

The protest team will assemble in Ghana, and, announcing in advance their intentions to the French government, travel by motor-vehicle from Ghana to the Reggan area of the Sahara, where the first French atom bomb is shortly to be tested. If they manage to reach their destination they will try to dissuade the scientific and military personnel on the spot from carrying out the test. If unsuccessful, they will remain in the area themselves when the test is made.

We appeal to all those in sympathy with this project to make a donation towards the extremely heavy costs that will be incurred.

DR. ALEX COMFORT
APRIL CARTER
PAT ARROWSMITH
LORD BOYD ORR
EARL RUSSELL
DR. DONALD SOPER
The Direct Action Committee
Against Nuclear War
344 Seven Sisters Rd.
London, N. 4, England

Criticizes Rockefeller

Dear Sirs:

Were I not a resident of New York State I have no doubt but that I might have found sufficient humor in Donald Grant's ridiculous piece on Nelson Rockefeller to enjoy it.

We, in this state, have learned to ignore the publicity handouts on the personality kid and evaluate the man on his accomplishments. Permit me to offer you a few facts which might have spoiled the lovely picture Mr. Grant has drawn had he mentioned them.

ITEM: Rockefeller came into public life as director of the Office of Inter-American Affairs. That he threw the Nazi rascals out of South America is history. That, by some strange coincidence, the Rockefeller interests didn't do too badly in filling the void comes under the heading of, "American interests were promoted."

ITEM: Rockefeller's second job was Assistant Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs. No authority on South America to date has suggested that the policies of the State Department between the time of Truman and Eisenhower have changed so radically as to get our hero out from the responsibility for having participated in their design.

ITEM: The bundle of money that was spent in his election campaign most assuredly brought our good governor a stack of votes. But no discussion of this election should omit the split in the Harriman ranks which ended in an about face of the en-

dorsement by the New York *Post*, in the last edition, on the eve of election day.

ITEM: The first piece of business the Governor demanded was an increase in the gas tax, "to help complete our magnificent road system." The motorists did not oppose the rise. Instead, they demanded a guarantee that the funds collected would not be diverted to other uses. The Governor's reply was to force through the bill with a haste that was reminiscent of Eisenhower's anxiety to make the offshore oil safe for Mr. Rockefeller's friends.

ITEM: Grant quotes the Democrats as having labelled the Governor's tax measure as a "soak-the-poor" plan. Considering all the wordage that was consumed in describing our wonder boy's animated eyebrow, Grant might well have extended his article to the extent of mentioning that the measure merely lowered the exemptions to about half the previous rate. There was such a stench about this bill that even his own party was reluctant to go along with it.

ITEM: Rockefeller's politicking ranges from the commission of injustices to the city of New York to a much rougher kind. Governor Harriman appointed a special Attorney General to investigate some evil odors in Suffolk County, a Republican stronghold. Cries of "fishing expedition" soon died away when indictments followed by convictions started to decimate the ranks of the officeholders. Investigations, grand jury proceedings and trials were still in full swing when the man with the handsome, cheerful, full, frank, open, boyish face announced that beginning November 1 there would be no more funds and all unfinished business of the special attorney general would, thereafter, be handled by the Republican attorney general. Fortunately, the newspapers and radio gave the matter an airing and the life of the commission was temporarily saved.

I might even vote for this man for President just to get him off the backs of the people of this state.

BERNARD ATTINSON
New York, N. Y.

Rockefeller Interests

Dear Sirs:

I can confirm Donald Grant's impression (November issue) that Nelson Rockefeller is kindly and charming because I once worked on a close-up of him for *Life* magazine. But since when has *The Progressive* skidded down to the *Life* level of slick, gee-whiz journalism? I was astounded to read such a superficial report by so high-minded a journalist as Donald Grant in one of our few responsible journals.

In two articles that we have recently printed on this Presidential aspirant, an attempt is made to point out the enormous stake Rockefeller and his family have in an aggressively militaristic American posture in our world relationships. It is not, of course, the wealth of the Rockefellers that is at issue—we have had rich Presidents before—but the nature of the vast Rockefeller holdings. The family's fortune is based to a large degree on huge foreign investments and now, as the result of family activities in the past decade, on military production.

It seems to me inconceivable that we should have a head of state with such a gigantic conflict of interest. And since Rockefeller and his brothers, in the reports and policy statements they have so far candidly issued, have demonstrated that their thinking is, as one would naturally expect, closely keyed to their material interests, the prospect of Rockefeller becoming President strikes me as a substantial threat to world peace.

DAVID WESLEY
Editorial Page Editor
The Gazette and Daily
York, Pa.

'Rot!'

Dear Sirs:

What, exactly, in his hodge-podge of everything and not much of anything, was Senator Fulbright (November) trying to convey to your readers? He tells us that foreign policy is "ideally the hard work of the intellect, as it responds to the insistence of an informed . . . people fully engaged with . . . national responsibilities."

Pure, unmitigated rot! It doesn't matter how "courageous and creative," how willing "to perceive and accept the full sweep of their responsibilities," the American people might be—nor does it matter what they think or know; nor what the "national mood" might be.

The fact is, the great mass of the American people don't have a thing to say about foreign policy. This has always been the prerogative of whatever primitives might be in the saddle at the time.

If this isn't so, how do we account for our ill-famed dollar diplomacy? For our thoroughly reprehensible past actions in Latin America? And, more recently, for our bomb-rattling and brinkmanship? For our rash, ill-considered intervention in Lebanon? For the Bagdad Pact? For the Eisenhower Doctrine? For our frenzied intervention in Formosa in 1958? For taking to our bosom the vicious dictators Franco, Trujillo, Perez and the tyrants, Chiang, Rhee, Salazar? For our keeping alive a civil war (Chinese) for over a decade? For a thousand and one other primitive, ill-considered actions that have gained us naught but contempt, suspicion, and ill-will?

Foreign policy the domain of the people? Rot!

THOMAS BRODERICK
Schenectady, N.Y.

Fulbright Frightening

Dear Sirs:

The article by Senator Fulbright (November) is truly frightening. If the chairman of our Senate Foreign Relations Committee has nothing better to suggest than is explained in this article, and, if, moreover, he finds the suggestions "creative," then our country is terribly sick.

Contrary to his statement, it seems to me that the only basis for a successful diplomacy and foreign policy is the "moral context," which Senator Fulbright brushes aside with one cavalier sentence. The "simple self interest" which is recommended has brought America and the world into its present impasse.

But even apart from morality: does Senator Fulbright believe that if we would lose a "small conventional" war, we would not resort to bigger and bigger nuclear weapons? Does he think the Russians would act differently? To prepare for the general nuclear war which is inadmissible, is schizophrenic, to put it charitably.

I agree that money should not limit our national political activities (although I believe that a reasonable and truly creative foreign policy would cost much less than our present mad one, which Senator Fulbright wants to make still madder), but I also feel we must balance the budget. We have no right to burden future generations with the consequences of our bungling. Let us raise taxes until our intake covers what we believe we have to spend.

Lastly, I want to mention one item that did not appear at all in Senator Fulbright's article which connects his home state of Arkansas with foreign policy: breaking down the barriers of segregation—North and South—is an essential creative act of *foreign* policy.

VICTOR PASCHKIS
New York, N.Y.

Catch Question

Dear Sirs:

I enjoyed Milton Mayer's article on miscegenation but was somewhat confused at the question he regarded as a difficult one to answer: "Would you want your daughter to marry a Negro?" Well, my answer is a definite "No," but I would give you the same answer if you asked me if I would let my son or daughter be the first to orbit in outer space. Once the process begins, and time passes and integration is an accepted fact, or if space travel is proved to be safe, I would consider my answer in the light of these developments and might quite possibly give my blessings.

I do not believe this is a fair question, and I do not believe it betrays any hidden attitudes. It's a catch question similar to "Do you still beat your wife?" The fact is that no one can predict the future and certainly not human behavior.

ALBERT STEPHEN TERZIAN, M.D.
Philadelphia, Pa.

Face the Racial Issue

Dear Sirs:

I was greatly impressed by Milton Mayer's article on miscegenation in the September issue. I think that miscegenation *is* the main issue. Some letters from liberals who have worked hard for integration seemed critical of Mayer's thesis, but I had the feeling in reading their letters that perhaps this was because they didn't really believe in the ultimate in racial equality—intermarriage and miscegenation.

Perhaps it is time we faced this issue instead of trying to avoid it. We should declare that true brotherhood means not only equal opportunities in education and housing, but in choosing a marriage partner as well; that true brotherhood means becoming

oblivious to differences in skin color in all areas of life.

The idea that there is some inherent "difference" between whites and people of color which causes miscegenation to be inherently evil is an insidious one which is deeply rooted in our culture. Perhaps we can struggle against this idea mainly on other fronts at the present time, but Mayer has done us a service by reminding us so cogently that destruction of our irrational fear of miscegenation must be our ultimate goal. Our means of working toward our short-range goals must be in harmony with our long-range goal of complete racial equality.

ARTHUR C. WOLFE
Truk, Caroline Islands

The Real Issue

Dear Sirs:

I am glad Milton Mayer's September article on our racial problem received such an enthusiastic reception. It deserved it, even though his basic premise (that the issue is miscegenation) is, I think, erroneous.

I think most Southern whites are aware that there is very little inter-marriage in the mostly non-segregated North. I think they are also aware that, marriage being a very personal matter, there is no logical reason to expect more inter-marriage in a non-segregated South. The fear of inter-marriage is, I suggest, a blind, a subterfuge, used unconsciously by the Southern white to hide his real fears from himself. The issue is something more subtle, but real nonetheless.

All human beings need to feel adequate, to have a reasonably good opinion of themselves. They will go to almost any length to protect or defend their self-esteem when they feel it threatened. The Southern white, especially the poor white, is in this predicament. The Negro has constituted an essential prop for his self-esteem. Now, the way things are developing, Negroes are in the process of being pulled out from under whites and placed on the same level. It is this prospect, rather than impending miscegenation, which they cannot face without violent reaction and opposition.

LEO NEWMAN
Springfield, Mass.

The Great Books

Dear Sirs:

I am puzzled by the statements of Professor John L. Childs in "John Dewey and American Thought" (November) that "Many groups with special interests to defend—theological, 'patriotic,' economic and racial—have joined in the movement to require our schools to abandon a program designed to make the young intelligent about trends, possibilities, strains, and conflicts in American civilization, and instead to give their attention to the conventional 'three R's,' formal discipline, and 'the great books of other generations,'" and that "These groups are skilled in the arts of propaganda . . ."

I ask Dr. Childs to clarify his position only on what he calls "the great books of other generations," by which I understand him to mean the Great Books movement.

Does he mean that the persons who originated the Great Books movement did themselves represent special group interests, to be advanced by stifling the growth of intelligence in youth in the schools; that they had impure and ulterior motives? Or does he mean that many groups with special interests to defend have merely attached themselves to the Great Books movement, which is itself at least well-intentioned?

Assuming that Dr. Childs would not reply that he considered the Great Books movement to be impure in origin, I ask him how the proper study of "the great books of other generations" would impair the development of intelligence about contemporary problems.

Would he hold that this generation has nothing to gain from a study of the ideas of Jefferson, Marx, Freud, or Darwin—and in their own words? Is he for leaving Shakespeare, James, Tolstoy, and Mill *out* of education—and the Bible too, which is likewise a "great book of other generations"? Does Professor Childs really believe that "other generations" have nothing important to say to us?

CONNER REED
Seattle, Wash.

Public Control of Steel

Dear Sirs:

It is commonly noted by industry spokesmen (steel, as well as other industries) as a sign of great progress that stock ownership is becoming more widespread. Were you to ask the president of United States Steel Corporation if he considers it good that, eventually, every American citizen become a stockholder, I am sure he would say yes. I have a plan for doing exactly that, without government ownership or control.

By means of an issue of special government bonds, bearing an attractive rate of interest, the federal government or an agency of it would purchase all stock of all the steel companies—in other words, complete ownership. The federal government would then declare each voting U.S. citizen the owner of one share (non-transferrable) of stock in the steel industry. At the next national election the voters would elect a board of directors for the entire steel industry. I presume that the national political parties would run slates of candidates—well-known men, with business and financial experience, yet politically sophisticated.

Profits would go to pay off the special bond issue—which therefore should not be considered a part of the national debt—and once the bonds were paid off, steel would be run on a non-profit basis, lowering prices whenever increased productivity would allow. This should remove much of the pressure for wage raises that comes from resentment of the union toward management high salaries and high dividends to private stockholders.

This kind of public control of such a basic industry would mean that the cost of living could be stabilized—might even come down. Labor would be much more content, I am sure. The public would receive frequent, complete reports on the industry. The industry would eliminate overlapping functions and plants, and by consolidation of purchasing, production, and sales make such savings as to increase the rate of bond payoff. Planning for those men laid off by automation could be done industry-wide, coherently and intelligently for the first time. Yet there would be no interference by the federal government, beyond that influence acting on both government and industry from the active citizens who govern the parties.

RINEHART S. POTTS
Pitman, N.J.

Liberals Should Sweat

Dear, Sirs:

The Progressive is to be praised for listening to a historian in "The Coming Shape of American Politics" (September 1959).

Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., predicts a liberal government in 1961, not contrary to our wishes, but this is to come about in a most strange manner. He would have us celebrate now for results which are destined to be realized by the *actions of time* or the habits of history, the "inherent cyclical rhythms." Traditional liberals have placed their faith in *men's actions*, works, sweat, intellects and political voting decisions. Dulles and the segregationists asked us to place our faith in *time's* actions.

There lies danger in such thoughts for liberals, for it emphasizes wishes instead of perceptions at a time when liberal magazines struggle for existence in a conservative-controlled mass media, when controversy is almost lost, when people only hope with a mild liking or disliking instead of with passion, when the desires of youth are little more than restful surrender to fate (other men's actions), when both major parties are reflections of each other. From this contentment and conservatism we are to expect totalitarianism, depression, or a flourishing creative period?

When magazines such as *The Progressive* are popular reading matter, liberals may listen to their historian's "don't worry, your period will follow again after the next conservative period." Until then, every liberal has reason to sweat profusely.

GLENN A. HARPER
West Lafayette, Ind.

Sorely Needed Balance

Dear Sirs:

I have nothing but praise for the continued high quality of your great magazine. If anything, I believe it has improved in quality. Your September issue, with both the Milton Mayer and Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., articles, was tremendous, as have been several other issues in your Anniversary year.

You seem to furnish a balance sorely needed in these "brain-washed" times. You are idealistic, yet close to the practical. You are leading in the development of thought in these days when original political thought has been decried. As a former Wisconsin resident, I am proud to point to *The Progressive* as an active "cleanser of the atmosphere" in the McCarthy era, and point out that you battled McCarthy while he was alive and sinisterly powerful.

ROBERT D. GOFF
Salt Lake City, Utah

The Beginning and the End

by DANIEL TALBOT

BEN HUR and *On the Beach* opened recently within a few weeks of each other. One goes into the birth of Christian civilization while the other graphs the very end of all civilization. Together they suggest Hollywood's genius in tackling such polar content with an astonishing artillery of entertainment tricks and values. In this we see the true meanings and callings of the Hollywood mystique: simplification, garishness, a vision with roots in the kindergarten, Protestant stoicism, and an omnivorous appetite.

Ben Hur, for all its glaring weaknesses (weaknesses which are endemic to the historical format), has a run of celluloid now and then that is visually exciting. The two most noteworthy scenes are the chariot race and a rowing sequence in the hold of a ship that is straight out of the montage-vocabulary of Eisenstein. Otherwise, the film is solid, corny Bi liana of the city-demolishing variety. It is much too long and has that slow, lumbering pacing that invites you to walk out any second.

There is a slight improvement in the mannered dialogue that we have become accustomed to in historicals. Usually a character in this sort of film sounds as if he is continually issuing a manifesto or an edict, even when he articulates something as uncomplicated as a luncheon invitation. In *Ben Hur,* the manifesto style has been trimmed to rhetorical exercise. I got a lot of pleasure out of watching Adi Berber playing Malluch, the gargantuan companion of Simonides. I don't quite understand why the mental energies of such talents as Christopher Fry, Gore Vidal, Maxwell Anderson, and S. N. Behrman were required for the screen play—the intentions of the makers were anything but subtle, complex, or artistic.

Ben Hur is entertainment in the Barnum-DeMille tradition—nothing else. And bloody entertainment indeed. Certain scenes easily reach the high-blood mark in the lore of shocks and heart twitches. One slave runs for safety while brandishing his severed arm. Messala, before he dies (with an honest-to-goodness death rattle), is literally covered from head to foot with red, red blood—of the richest hue I have yet seen on the screen. The Crucifixion scene is a minor masterpiece as a study of torture, nail-hanging, and Amazonian flows of life-blood.

In the end I do not think any harm—or any good—was perpetrated. It seems a pity that the skills of William Wyler, one of our better directors, were used for a film that should easily be forgotten. It's the kind of film that you don't review or criticize as much as you gossip about: the fact that it cost $15,000,000 to make, that it may become the biggest all-time grosser, that 400 pounds of hair was used to make wigs and beards, and so on. Thirty-three companies are now involved in manufacturing "Ben Hur Authorized Merchandise," ranging from Ben Hur infants' and children's toga-type sun suits to Ben Hur candy bars. The subtitle of the film is "A Tale of the Christ," and I do not think any more need be said about this matter.

DANIEL TALBOT, editor of the newly published "Film: An Anthology", served for three years as Eastern story editor for Warner Brothers. He recently returned from Spain, where he spent a year writing and working on a film.

The first and obvious thing to note about *On the Beach* is that it is a pure propaganda picture with a visceral message, and I hope that literally every one more than 20 years old on this planet goes to see it right away. I say this even though Stanley Kramer almost subverted his intentions by being evasive, by sugar-coating, by flummery at times. I found little in its parts that appealed to my sense of beauty or truth, but when the picture was over I had enormous sympathy for it. You simply cannot put down something that urges you to work towards the preservation of the race.

This film may very well be one of the better antidotes around to the idiotic spectacle of the 99.44 per cent clean-limited-nuclear-brushfire talk that we have been subjected to in the press in the past few years. There is still not a thing being done about scrapping the bombs (never mind inspection!) and until that day arrives we have every right to perpetuate our revulsion over the condition of the race. Further, unless the world psyche becomes unfettered by the image of existing stockpiles, the rate at which all of us are morally and spiritually falling apart will be so accelerated that the world is entitled to become one immense insane asylum in ten years. It is not hyperbolic, however, to suggest that many people believe that such is the condition of the race now.

This picture, then, is a preview of Deathville. The action takes place in Australia (largely Melbourne) in 1964, the year of the H-Holocaust. Except for the Australians, all the people in the world are dead. But radioactive dust is due to reach Australia in approximately five months. During this time a submarine of Americans (commanded by Gregory Peck), which had been in the Pacific when The End came and thus spared death, undertake an expedition to the Arctic to check on the course of the Dust and also to investigate an equivocal wireless message from San Diego, California. Sexy Ava Gardner falls desperately in love with sexless Gregory Peck, while Fred Astaire, rejected suitor of Ava Gardner and disillusioned scientist who contributed to the Bomb, drinks heavily and at-

tempts unsuccessfully to explain how humanity got so fouled up. There are other situations in the film of equal cartoon-strip dimensions. In the end the Dust comes, but not before a Salvation Army banner emblazons the screen with the words: There is Still Time, Brother.

Gregory Peck is given an untenable role. Apparently he has become schizoid over the death of his wife and two children (of whom he talks as if they were still alive), yet when the occasion calls for immediate, reality-oriented thinking and action, he suddenly becomes as shape as his ship.

The memorable things about *On the Beach* are the silent sequences of a doomed populace queuing up for death pills, of a vast Salvation Army jam session in which everyone is without salavation, of cold streets empty of people but littered with newspapers, and of two old club chums frantically trying to drink up the club's supply of spirits before doom descends. These glimpses say infinitely more about what is happening in this story than all the double talk.

Of the six hours occupied by both films, *Ben Hur* starts off by telling us in three and a half that the Sermon on the Mount got us off to a good start in matters of conscience, while *On the Beach,* in two and a half, disposes of conscience in awesome fashion. Somewhere in between Evil entered.

Daumier of Our Time

by Alfred Werner

THE TRAGIC ARTIST in history or imagination is a harassed man of genius, unrecognized by the critics, unable to sell his work, too poor to support his family or to purchase the necessary pigments, canvases, and brushes, living out his days in a hole fit neither for habitation nor for a studio. But an artist's life can be tragic even though he is financially well off.

Georg Grosz belonged in this category. He died recently at the age of 65, mourned by his family, by the United States which had awarded him the Gold Medal of the Academy of Arts and Letters just a week before his return to his native Germany, and by the Bonn Republic where, after his long exile in New York, he hoped to find new inspiration. Superficially, his was a happy and successful life. Yet those who had known the artist also knew that in all the rather carefree years he spent in America (from the winter of 1933 to the late spring of 1959) he was a tortured soul, seeking an anodyne in huge quantities of alcohol. An old friend summed up Grosz' affliction: "His stature as an artist would have loomed larger rather than smaller, had he died in 1933."

Between 1910 and that fatal year, 1933, Grosz was *the* outstanding caricaturist and satirist of Central Europe, hated by chauvinists and reactionaries, adored by those who believed in an anti-militaristic, truly democratic Germany. In the Twenties he was the leading spirit in a movement, *Neue Sachlichkeit* (New Objectivity), and pursued social criticism with a blending of truculent realism and ironic humor. But after Grosz' flight from Europe and safe arrival in the United States, something unexplained happened to him and his art, something that took away from him the precious sting that had nearly made him the Daumier of our time. "Georg" became "George," a conformist (in every respect) in an America that spoiled and pampered the celebrated refugee from Nazi oppression.

The early Grosz was an ardent fighter who used his unerring pencil or pen to attack the ills of society as Daumier had done, and before him Hogarth, Rowlandson, Cruikshank, and Goya. He developed in defiance of his milieu. Grosz spent much of his youth in an officers' club run by his parents, devout Lutherans and patriotic Prussians. He endeavored to gain artistic knowledge outside the conservative Dresden Academy, chose his friends among like-minded rebels (the painter Jules Pascin was one of them), and came to admire August Bebel, leader of the Social Democratic Party.

When World War I erupted, Grosz, then 21, enlisted in the infantry, but his military career was neither glorious nor of long duration, for early in 1916 he was discharged after a brain fever. Throughout the war he expressed his abhorrence of the military machine and civilian corruption by means of sharp, hard drawings that captured a situation and summed up an idea in a few crisp, meaningful lines. In his autobiography, *A Little Yes and a Big No,* he repeatedly refers to his very fertile 1914-1918 period: "At every opportunity I would express my disillusionment in small drawings. Everything I disliked in my environment I would sketch in my notebook or on sheets of writing paper: there were the beastly faces of my comrades, war cripples, arrogant officers, embittered nurses."

Why do artists often seem preoccupied with "unpleasant" and "macabre" sights? Why do they not confine themselves to works that "uplift" man? The simple answer is that a large number of artists cannot shut their eyes against the misery of their fellow men and are compelled by conscience to use their skills for the improvement of society. In pre-Hitler Germany, quite a few artists did not like what they saw, and fearlessly expressed their political and social

ALFRED WERNER, Vienna-born art critic, has written and lectured widely in the United States and Europe. His articles on art have appeared in a score of publications including Commentary, The American Scholar, The Saturday Review, and The Chicago Jewish Forum, of which he is an associate editor.

convictions in aesthetically superior work. They realized that the men of Weimar had promulgated excellent laws, but that most of the administrators were conservatives who would have preferred their Kaiser and who did everything possible to frustrate the republicans' attempts to turn Germany into a modern, humanistic state, worthy of the "nation of poets and thinkers" the Germans once had aspired to be.

Berlin, where Grosz lived, was a sordid place to those who, like him, discerned the corrupt core beneath the gay surface of dancing, singing, and love-making: "All this appeared to be very merry, but beneath all was hate and despair . . . Barbarism prevailed. The streets became dangerous and were markets for prostitution, murder, and cocaine deals . . . The world of the 1920's was like a boiling cauldron. We did not see who fed the flames . . . An explosion was imminent."

Grosz, as an artist, was fully aware of the prostitutes, rakes, swindlers, adventurers, and lechers, but he was more concerned about the sinister powers that permitted such a large variety of evils to thrive, and exposed them in portfolios of merciless lithographs. Those whom he attacked, retaliated. In 1920 the Reichswehr caused his arrest; the artist was tried and fined 5,000 marks.

Several years later Grosz' portfolio *Ecce Homo* (which included a plate showing a prostitute wearing a cross) was confiscated and once again a heavy fine was imposed upon the artist who was charged with "corrupting the inborn sense of shame and virtue innate in the German people." But from the third brush with the law he emerged victorious. Fined on account of two lithographs contained in a portfolio (one showed Christ in a gas mask, the other a German pastor balancing a cross on his nose), the artist appealed to a higher court and the conviction was reversed. The judge who wrote the opinion even defended the artist who had "made himself the spokesman of millions who disavow war."

This decision was written in 1929. In the next year the Nazis marched into the Reichstag as Germany's second largest party, and the men of the Right began to take the law into their own hands rather than to rely on decisions of the courts. Grosz continued to draw his caricatures of Nazis and war-mongers, although he knew that his very life was threatened by political mobsters, eager to destroy this "detractor of German greatness." Fortunately, in 1932 the Art Students League of New York invited him to come and teach. He accepted, came to the United States, and fell in love with America (which, wherever he went, gave him the red-carpet treatment).

We who admired Grosz were happy, indeed, upon learning that he had escaped in time, for had he remained in Germany he might have been tortured to death in a concentration camp. We hoped that from the security of his new homeland Grosz would continue the good fight against the enemies of civilization.

Hitler was able to kill off his opposition, or to drive it into an underground where its activities were of small danger to his regime, but anti-Nazi sentiments continued to flourish in Austria, Czechoslovakia, the Low Countries, France, and England. Emigrant journals, exposing and assailing Nazism, appeared everywhere in the Free World. But none of them contained a single contribution by Grosz. Hundreds of his works were confiscated by the Nazis, some were destroyed, while others were included in a "Degenerate Art" Exhibition. He was deprived of his German citizenship, but he remained silent. He concentrated on teaching, enjoyed the attention he received in America in the form of Guggenheim Fellowships, medals, and purchase prizes, and turned to subjects that had never attracted him before—desolate sand dunes and shapely female nudes (sometimes a combination of the two).

In his suburban villa Grosz found the peace and happiness he had not known for years. Or so it seemed. So great was his uncritical infatuation with America that he completely overlooked all the perils threatening the survival of her democracy like the Depression, the fascist groups of the Thirties, and McCarthyism. Grosz disowned his past, said that he never wanted to become a caricaturist, and that his hopes never lay with the masses (although the work he had done before his fortieth year tells a different story). His latest credo was summed up in these words:

"Satirical drawings of which I made thousands in earlier days, no longer hold much importance for me. Flowers, weeds, birds, rocks, water, and sun and the big moon speak more to me than before and are often more familiar than the faces of human beings."

What saddened his admirers, who knew him as a fighter in the Twenties, was not so much the change of subject matter as the rapid decline of his artistic faculties. The man whose drawings had had the power of hand-grenades surrendered to the slickness of magazine cover art. This was particularly true of his garishly pigmented oils (in his drawings he still retained some of his strength). Once in a long while he might return to one of his earlier subjects—like the horrors of war—but would be less convincing than before: gone was the orginality, gone the celebrated economy of line. Yet the critics were overly kind to him, and so great was his reputation among the patrons that even inferior work of his later years would sell for thousands of dollars as long as the signature, "Grosz," was genuine.

The artist could not deceive himself, however optimistic his frequent pronunciamentos might sound. To a friend he confided, "Since I came to America, I have lost all my values." This statement reveals that he had not really lost them. He knew that he had become "commercial," and in consequence suffered terribly from his own artistic decline, vainly trying to find solace in liquor, behaving like a madman during alcoholic excesses.

In his last years he harbored the illusion that all he had to do to regain his former idealism and strength was to go back to his native land. He was 65 when he returned to Berlin last spring. Had he lived, would he have succeeded in retracing his steps and finding himself? I am inclined to doubt it. Can one recapture one's youth, even by the most emphatic effort? Can one "return to a dream"? And is the Bonn Republic a place where satire can thrive? I have found

a little lampooning of sacred cows in its small literary cabarets, less in the rather tame satirical weeklies (the *Simplizissimus* of Munich is only a ghostly revival of the brilliantly sharp paper of Thomas Theodor Heine), and next to nothing in the realm of fine art. References to the grim past, to the still sorrowful present, are extremely rare. Whether West German art is abstract or mildly representational, there is a striking and puzzling serenity and tranquility about most of it, indicative of full acceptance of the *status quo*.

The men who founded *Neue Sachlichkeit* about 1923 were neither tranquil nor serene. Grosz and his friends who shunned the Expressionist group were candid and bitter. They were angry young men who expressed their disgust in firm line and virile color rather than in a Bohemian way of life. It is sad to reflect that nothing comparable to *Neue Sachlichkeit* has come into existence anywhere in the past two decades. One must go to the early work of Grosz in order to see, through an artist's eye, the cruel reality, half-hidden under a glittering facade, of a sick society.

Grosz had the rare gift of what might be called aggressive vision. With a seemingly scratchy and careless, yet actually knowledgeable and deliberate line, and in a completely unorthodox "perspective," he penetrated facades, unearthing social and political depravity. In all likelihood more Germans hated Grosz than loved him. But those discontented souls who refused to accept conditions as they were rallied in support of what the American painter, Marsden Hartley, characterized as "scalpel-like incisions into the coarse flesh-crust of obtuse and vulgar humanity."

However disappointing Grosz may have been in his middle years and old age, it is impossible to forget or ignore the splendid works of his youth: small in size, yet every inch filled with Daumier's wit and Goya's anger. His case clearly shows the danger besetting an artist in transplantation from one culture to another. With the writer Heinrich Mann and the composer Kurt Weill (to whom he is spiritually related), Grosz belonged to those exiles who, in the New World, with their fires burnt out, were unable to repeat the glorious feats of yesterday.

BOOKS

Economic Power

POWER WITHOUT PROPERTY—A NEW DEVELOPMENT IN AMERICAN POLITICAL ECONOMY, by Adolph A. Berle, Jr. Harcourt, Brace. 184 pp. $3.75.

Reviewed by
Horace M. Gray

AMONG THOSE who reject competition and accept concentrated economic power as the reality of the future, Adolph A. Berle, Jr., stands somewhat apart. It can be said of him, as Lord Byron said of himself:

"in the crowd
They could not deem me one of such:
I stood
Among them, but not of them,—in a shroud
Of thoughts which were not their thoughts."

What quality of mind or perception is it that distinguishes Berle from ordinary rationalizers of economic power? What dark foreboding, beyond the ken of lesser men, troubles his thought and gives him pause? It is, I suggest, his superior sensitivity respecting the abuses of power and his humanitarian concern for the fate of a society caught in the toils of a power system beyond its present means of control. Berle is no novice in this power game, no uncritical starry-eyed enthusiast; long study, reflection, and experience have dissipated all illusions on this score. Again, like Lord Byron, he has:

"not flattered its rank breath,
nor bowed
To its idolatries a patient knee,
Nor coined (his) cheek to smiles, nor
cried aloud
In worship of an echo."

Accepting concentrated economic power as necessary in the modern economy, yet mindful of its potential dangers, Berle insists that it be brought under control and made socially responsible. How can this be done, short of nationalization and short of stultifying bureaucratic regulation? The search for an answer to this question has led Berle to explore many areas of historical experience—religion, politics, economics, ethics, and law. From these studies he distilled, some years ago, the concept of a supreme authority, comparable to the moral influence of the medieval church or the social justice embodied in the legal fiction of the king's conscience, which might restrain the potential abuses of concentrated economic power and compel it to serve the public interest. Subsequently, in testimony before the House Judiciary Committee, he elaborated this theme to provide for the legitimization or constitutionalization of such power under the sanctions of a legal code which would specify rules of behavior and social responsibilities. Continuing his quest, he now advances the idea of "concentrated economic power, checked by and responsible to a public consensus."

This latest product of Berle's fertile imagination—"public consensus"—is defined as "a set of value judgments so widely accepted and deeply held in the United States that public opinion can energize political action when needed to prevent power from violating these values." Or, similarly, "the ultimate limitation on economic power is the possibility of energizing, in any one of various ways, the political power of government." Berle is optimistic over the prospects: "the power system emerging in response to

public wants is at long last governed by public consensus," and concentrated economic power "is moving forward toward greater responsibility at (historically considered) breakneck speed." At the same time he concedes the possibility that such power may control society: "We shall control —or be controlled by—our power bearers."

In the power system thus conceived the post of honor is assigned to a small, elite corps of intellectuals, comparable to the lords spiritual of feudal times, who would serve as "keepers and developers of the public consensus." These modern lords spiritual would possess no legal power, but their moral authority as shapers and directors of public opinion would, it is thought, suffice to hold the rapacious and irresponsible lords temporal (big business men) in check and compel them to perform their public duty. The lords spiritual could not, like their medieval predecessors, excommunicate wayward and intransigent lords temporal, and thus cut them off from both earthly allegiance and heavenly salvation, but they could, like Caesar's spirit, cry havoc and unleash the dogs of political retribution against them. Berle fancies that our great universities might appropriately serve as headquarters for these lords spiritual after the fashion of the great medieval universities.

Big business men, the lords temporal of our system, operate "the economic service-of-supply of the United States." If they are to do so effectively they must possess and freely exercise great power in the organization and operation of industry; government, being dependent on them, cannot deny them the requisite power or veto its normal use because "a government cannot be perpetually at war with its service-of-supply." These lords temporal, however, are socially irresponsible and, like their feudal counterparts, prone to place self-interest above public welfare.

Society thus faces a cruel dilemma; it must of necessity grant to irresponsible private persons vast power which they are almost certain to abuse. This dilemma can be resolved by demoting these freebooting lords temporal to the humble and innocuous status of non-statist civil servants, and by subjecting them to the superior moral authority of the lords spiritual, who, it is assumed, will "energize political action" whenever that becomes necessary to restrain modes of behavior which violate the public consensus. The role of the political state is minimal and essentially negative. It will intervene only when the lords temporal, ignoring the admonitions of the lords spiritual and the values of the public consensus, get out of hand.

These quaint conceits, derived from medieval lore, are intriguing but wholely unrealistic. Berle's prescription is no better than his diagnosis—and that is faulty in important essentials. First, he rejects competition, but the thing he rejects is a Darwinian-Spencerian straw man—the law of the jungle, fit for animals, not men, and obsolete for 75 years. By contrast, the modern concept of regulated competition under a regime of public law is humanistic, constructive, and viable.

Second, there is no compelling necessity—economic or technological—for extreme concentration of economic power to get the world's work done or to meet modern needs. Rather, such concentration is a product of institutional mismanagement and unrestrained lust for power, and it can be corrected by appropriate institutional adjustments.

Third, concentrated economic power cannot be restrained by a public consensus activated by an elite corps of lords spiritual. This theory of control is a ghost from the Bull Moose era of "pitiless publicity." Aggressive power groups, through a vast propaganda apparatus and control of mass communications, shape public opinion and values to their own ends; they infiltrate politics and control government; they have even been known to subvert lords spiritual. Even if the latter escape subversion they are not likely to prove immune to the corruption of power. Lords spiritual are just as objectionable and irresponsible as lords temporal. True democrats must say: "A plague on both your houses; we will have neither lords temporal nor lords spiritual to rule over us."

Berle directs his sharpest critical barbs at liberals, particularly at their attitude toward power and their economic policy prescriptions. In so doing, however, he uncovers a fatal flaw in his own argument. He seeks a solution for the power problem within the restrictive confines of two indefensible economic assumptions: competition is obsolete, and concentration is necessary. Trapped by these self-imposed limitations, and rejecting direct state action, he is foredoomed to hopeless seeking in a limbo of private pluralism where powerful lords temporal and fulminating lords spiritual, both irresponsible, contend for supreme power and for mastery of the public consensus. All his ingenuity and learning will not suffice to extricate him from this self-created prison. The "power bearers," on his premises, must inevitably control society because there is no effective force to oppose or to subordinate them—neither the discipline of competition nor the superior power of the democratic state.

Berle's failure to find a satisfactory solution for the power problem, within this frame of reference, symbolizes one of the deep frustrations of our time. We permit the economic base of liberal society to be destroyed, we permit great concentrates of irresponsible private power to develop—in fact, actually subsidize them—and then speculate endlessly on how to control them, how to make them behave, how to neutralize their dangerous power. We don't need the ministrations of any lords spiritual; what we need, as Lincoln advised, is to "disenthrall" ourselves from false notions.

Indonesia's Potential

THE STORY OF INDONESIA, by Louis Fischer. Harper. 341 pp. $5.

Reviewed by
Edwin Young

RELATIVELY LITTLE has been written in English about Indonesia, that archipelago which stretches some three thousand miles across the South Pacific from Malaya to New Guinea. Books available to Americans are largely either scholarly treatises on specific aspects of Indonesian problems, or history, such as that done under the splendid direction of Professor George Kahn of Cornell University and Professor Benjamin Higgins at the University of Texas, or

the impressionistic approach well exemplified by Arthur Goodfriend's *Rice Roots* and Marguerite Bro's *Indonesia, Land of Challenge*. Although some of the many Dutch studies have been translated, they are read only by American specialists on the Far East.

Now Louis Fischer has brought his scholarly and reportorial abilities to the task of giving the general reader a picture of Indonesia's past history and present problems. He would have us clearly understand, as far as he is able to help us, how today's troubles in these lovely islands rose out of so many unhappy yesterdays, and he would have us see too the potential of the new nation's future. Today's small world now deeply involves us in that future, and we need to read carefully Fischer's introductory chapters. The shocking ignorance of America concerning the richness of the ancient Indonesian culture and its tumultuous history can only be resented by the Indonesians.

In the following, Fischer indicates how much we must learn, and he would be the first to say that we must go much farther and deeper than his own book can take us:

"It must not be supposed that the Portuguese or Spaniards or Dutch discovered the East Indies in the sense that Columbus discovered America. Nor should any one imagine those hardy Sixteenth Century mariners . . . collecting clove buds while savages looked on in amazement. The Indonesians grew the trees, collected the spices, and sold them to the newcomers as they had sold them for centuries to traders and sailors from China, India, Arabia. The Iberians' and Netherlands' only distinction was that they came from Europe. Far from being 'savages' the East Indians had cities, temples, governments, irrigation systems, shipping, art, and literature."

Before writing this book, the author visited and did research in Indonesia, The Netherlands, the United Nations, and Cornell University, the center of American studies of Indonesia. Much of the history that Fischer reports so well deals with colonialism and the efforts of the Indonesians to throw off the Dutch yoke which bore so heavily on the people of Java and the surrounding islands. Dutchmen came to the Indies to exploit and to rule. Sometimes the Dutch government itself was explosive, sometimes neglectful, never willing to expand the resources needed to bring the people of its rich colony along the road to self-government and self-respect. From 1831 to 1877, a third of the Dutch government's income consisted of profits from the forced labor in the government estates in the Indies. Practically none of the money went back for education or other social expenditures. Holland's chief expenditure was for the armed forces needed to fight rebellions.

In sharp contrast with the Dutch rule was that brought by the Englishman, Raffles, the founder of Singapore, who ruled Java for the English during the Napoleonic Wars and was bent on bringing Java out of feudalism into capitalism. Although he failed to sell England on his reforms, his name is still beloved in Java.

This book has much to offer students of colonialism, nationalism, and communism. By the beginning of the Twentieth Century, the Dutch were trying to make amends for past behavior, but, as in almost every other colonial situation, a little education and a little freedom could only feed the fires of nationalism and resentment. Instead of the gratitude they thought they deserved, the Dutch faced rebellion. Louis Fischer is as well trained as any man alive to tell the story of any country's Communist Party and the way in which the strings are pulled from Moscow. We see the strings leading to Indonesia in 1925 when Stalin needed diversion in order to strengthen his position at home. Marxism, as Fischer points out, is bound to appear the ally of nationalism in a colonial country where the nationalists are almost invariably anti-capitalists.

The first part of *The Story of Indonesia* deals with Indonesia's history through World War II, the Japanese occupation, and the stubborn, futile attempt of the Dutch to maintain control of the archipelago. Instead of retiring gracefully as its wiser countrymen advised, the Dutch government, torn by domestic politics, fought bitterly for four years to maintain its rule in one guise or another, and in so doing liquidated all chance for a continuing Dutch-Indonesian trade and cultural relationship that both countries need.

The second part of the book is a portrayal of Indonesia as it is today, poor, torn by rebellion, inexperienced in administration, and as yet unsettled in a firm political and economic path. Unlike many of the Afro-Asian countries, Indonesia is rich in natural resources, perhaps third after the United States and Russia. It produces large quantities of rubber, tin, pepper, copra, palm oil, tea, tobacco, and petroleum. It is this potential in a land of poverty that makes for a special tragedy.

The central political figure of present-day Indonesia is President Sukarno, and Fischer devotes a good deal of space to this energetic leader of the revolution who has held popular support through numerous cabinet and political changes. Recently the army has been taking a stronger and a stabilizing role in the affairs of the country. Its head, General Nasutim, considers himself at the "moderate center of *Pontajasila:* Nationalism, Internationalism, Representative Government, Social Justice, and Faith in God." The army is anti-Communist and anti-corruption and seems determined to obtain the political and economic stability the country must have if it is to survive.

Meanwhile, as this review is written, in the outer islands the rebels continue to fight the central government. They say they want the government to give more local autonomy to the islands that produce the wealth and also to take a stronger anti-Communist line. It is estimated that the rebellion eats up the nation's resources at the rate of 30 million dollars each day.

Through these pages filled with the story of colonialism, rebellion, politics, and politicians, comes a feeling of the special qualities of Indonesia, the beautiful land, the cultured people who love their land and life itself deeply, and who are, in Fischer's words, "modest, sensible, lovable, without envy, sickly arrogance, or ambitions."

Literary Pilgrims

by Melvin Friedman

GERTRUDE STEIN, who arrived in Paris in 1903, was among the first of the literary pilgrims. She began a transatlantic movement which was to achieve legendary proportions in the years following World War I and to be immortalized in such works as Malcolm Cowley's *Exile's Return*.

John Malcolm Brinnin in *The Third Rose: Gertrude Stein and Her World* (Atlantic-Little, Brown) gives a much needed revaluation of an author who has been regarded by Sherwood Anderson and others as "a writer's writer." Brinnin reviews the details of Gertrude Stein's life: reacquainting us with the Harvard years under William James, the depressing period at Johns Hopkins Medical School, the first impressions of Paris, the inordinate publishing difficulties of the early volumes, and the gradual emergence to literary eminence. He offers few biographical insights not already revealed by Stein's other commentators, Donald Sutherland, Elizabeth Sprigge, and Rosalind S. Miller.

Brinnin's contribution is in the direction of literary criticism. He redefines Gertrude Stein's aesthetic by linking it with painting and insisting on the analogy with the plastic arts. He connects her work with Cubism as convincingly as Edmund Wilson (in *Axel's Castle*) placed her in the final, exaggerated stages of Symbolism.

Brinnin derives her early manner from the happy fusion of Flaubert's naturalistic method in *Trois Contes* (which Gertrude Stein early translated into English) with the late Impressionist style of Cezanne. As her work becomes increasingly abstract, she seems to depart from these Nineteenth Century French models towards the initiators of Cubism—Picasso and Braque. Her personal life reinforces her literary tendencies at this point, especially the friendship with Picasso which offered the unique opportunity to watch the development of an original painter towards a new plastic idiom.

Brinnin speaks at length of Gertrude Stein's "portrait writing." He perhaps missed a significant cue when he failed to link this unusual literary genre with Joyce's "epiphanies." The "portraits" of Mabel Dodge, T. S. Eliot, Picasso, and Matisse, like Joyce's "most delicate and evanescent of moments" (see *Stephen Hero*), are diary substitutes penned as prose poems. (Gertrude Stein would doubtless resent the connection as she failed consistently to appreciate the work of the Irish writer.)

Brinnin has made it possible for us, then, to trace Gertrude Stein's work from Nineteenth Century Naturalism and Impressionism through Cubism and various of its literary offspring. He has helped rid us of the notion that she is merely a writer to be studied in creative writing workshops as a literary oddity. He has also filled in an oblique image of an age—recently christened the "banquet years." The Saturday evenings at Gertrude's apartment at 27 Rue de Fleurus assumed much the same proportions as Mallarme's "mardis" and T. E. Hulme's "1909 club." Writers, painters, and musicians were herded together to worship at Gertrude's feet and, incidentally, to discuss the arts.

A favorite gathering spot for a slightly later generation of Parisians and expatriates was a unique bookshop; Sylvia Beach, its proprietress, has finally set down her memoirs using the suggestive name of her shop for its title, *Shakespeare and Company* (Harcourt, Brace).

Her "pilgrimage" took her to Paris in 1917. She brought with her the blessings and financial backing of her mother and father (who was pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Princeton, New Jersey). At first she was intent on setting up a lending library for those interested in recent literature. Her large collection attracted almost all the young writers who either lived in or passed through Paris in the Twenties and Thirties.

She devotes brief chapters in *Shakespeare and Company* to many of these frequenters; each has the informality and spiciness of a diary jotting.

Miss Beach devotes the larger part of her book to describing her literary mission. She took over from Harriet Weaver and Margaret Anderson—after both of their attempts seem to have met with failure—the task of wresting Joyce from an undeserved anonymity. She transformed Shakespeare and Company briefly into a publishing and distributing house for *Ulysses*. (She called upon the same Dijon printers which Gertrude Stein was to use for *The Making of Americans*.) She later published *Pomes Penyeach*, "a baker's dozen to be sold for one shilling," and a volume of essays about Joyce's "Work in Progress." These were her only three publishing ventures and were all devoted

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to the Irish writer who was indebted to her for a large share of his increasing eminence in the Twenties. D. H. Lawrence, Frank Harris, Henry Miller, and others—perhaps confusing Sylvia Beach's interest in Joyce with pornography—all approached her unsuccessfully when they were unable to market their manuscripts elsewhere.

Her devotion to Joyce and her sympathetic connection with so many other talented writers of the Twenties reinforce her role as literary benefactor. The light, casual, often gossipy tone of *Shakespeare and Company* admirably suits Sylvia Beach's intentions. It can be recommended as a companion piece to *The Third Rose*, which handles some of the same material in a more exacting critical vein.

Man and Nature

THE ENDURING PATTERN, by Hal Borland. Simon & Schuster. 247 pp. $5.

Reviewed by
Leonard Hall

A PRIMARY DIFFERENCE between man and all other living creatures on our planet—and I am sure Hal Borland would agree with me in this—is that man speculates constantly about life and its meaning. The reason Borland would have to agree is that he is himself one of the most inquisitive of men. He sits upon his wooded hillside in Connecticut, after having lived widely and broadly throughout America, and observes the nature of life about him and ponders its meaning. His newest book, *The Enduring Pattern*, is a direct result of this contemplation. And because Borland observes closely and accurately, thinks deeply, and is an extremely articulate fellow, the book is both informative and delightful.

The purpose of *The Enduring Pattern* is to examine certain fundamental questions that have always intrigued the intelligent man. The questions include: Who and what is man? Where did he come from and what environment makes his existence possible? How old is he and where does he stand in the life-time scale on our planet? *The Enduring Pattern* is a book written for the layman whose knowledge of biology and natural history need renewing or was perhaps neglected. It is also a book for biologists and other scientists whose points of view may have narrowed with their specialities or whose sense of philosophy may have atrophied. For Borland not only looks at facts; he also does not hesitate to probe the deeper meanings of these facts and the almost unanswerable questions and problems which they pose.

A great deal of the best writing in this whole field of natural history has always been done by those who are, strictly speaking and from a formal scientific standpoint, amateurs. Many of them have been extremely skilled as writers—Virgil of the "Georgics," Gilbert White of Selbourne, Thoreau of Walden Pond, John Muir, Audubon, Joseph Wood Krutch, and a host of others. In each case the thing that makes the effort worthwhile is that this is the approach of *one man;* the attempt by one more human individual to cast one more ray of light into the shadowed reaches of the universe. Thus Hal Borland is not the first writer nor *The Enduring Pattern* the last book to examine the nature of life and the meaning of the universe.

The organization of *The Enduring Pattern* is scientifically sound and flows with the ease of good narrative. In "A Place to Live" Borland examines time, the land, the water, the air, and fire ("the flame of creation"). The section, "Life—the Green World," explores the universe of plants: grass, flowers, trees, and the parasitic fungi.

"Life—the Pygmy Hordes" deals with the exo-skeletal world of spiders, insects, moths, and butterflies; a world filled with wonders and with creatures that have aparently successfully solved the problems of survival, since they have continued almost unchanged for as long as 300 million years. Here are spiders whose webs

THE REVIEWERS

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are many times stronger than steel; bees and ants that have long since lost all individuality in the social life of the colony or hive; butterflys that lay eggs which hatch into caterpillars that spin cocoons from which hatch butterflies again—mysteries beyond man's power to understand.

Finally, there are the creatures of "Flesh and Blood"—from the fish that developed the first backbone on down to man. In between—and, strangely, never quite disappearing as new forms develop and take off in new directions—are the amphibians, reptiles, birds, and mammals. At the top of this last category, by his own account and not without some evidence to support his contentions, stands man. Without the others he could not be here and so owes a debt to all of them. Because his brain developed—and quite rapidly in evolutionary terms—man replaced many of his instincts with learned skills, began to remember, think, and talk.

So here is our earth, says Borland, which has been spinning around the sun for 3,000 million years with the earliest life appearing perhaps 1,500 million years ago. Man came along a mere million years ago, compared with 300 million for such still-existing forms as spiders. "What time is it?" he asks. "It is now, today. For man it is not much after dawn. The day still lies ahead, for man at least. On that I can rest, believing that life does have meaning, that life does have pattern, that life is worth whatever span of time is mine or any man's to know, to feel, to think, to learn, to participate in this amazing thing, life itself."

The Enduring Pattern is a book for everyone who has ever asked those fascinating questions about man and the meaning of life. It is a book to read once and talk about as you go, then read again to savor its full philosophy. I hope you enjoy it as much as I have; and now it will find a place on a long shelf of much-thumbed volumes that are favorite companions. A word of commendation to the publisher should be added for the book's design and typography and appropriate drawings by Milton Glaser.

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Burkhart, James A.: Symington, the Middle Man from the Middle Border. Oct 28

Cartwright, Colbert S.: Hope Comes to Little Rock. Aug 7
Central Intelligence Agency: Daggers Against Diplomacy, Charles Edmundson, Feb. 21
Chase, Stuart: No War, No Poverty? Jan 12
Childs, John L.: John Dewey and American Thought. Nov 28
China: China's Drive Toward Empire, O. Edmund Clubb. Oct 21; China's 'Great Leap Forward,' James S. Duncan. Oct 13; New China Policy, edit. Sept 3; Nightmare in the Far East, Helen Mears, Mar 18; Our Self-Defeating China Policy, Senator Clair Engle. Oct 24; Ten Years of Red China, Hyman Kublin. Oct 9
Civil Liberties: Anti-Communism Loses Its Punch, Paul Simon. Nov 35; Bar's Black Cloud, edit. Apr 7; Cardinal and the ACLU, edit. Dec 8; From Headlines to Has-Been, Wilbur H. Baldinger. Aug 18; Hate Rides High, edit. May 6; J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI. Dec. 26; McCarthyism Under the Magnolias, Wilma Dykeman and James Stokely, July 8; Oregon Shows the Way, edit. Aug. 6; Prying Eyes, edit. Mar. 8; Retreat from Freedom, edit. July 3; Security's Double Standard, edit. Feb. 7; Silver Lining, edit. Apr. 7; Un-American Committee Routed, edit. Oct. 6.
Clark, Senator Joseph S.: Hope for Housing. Apr 18
Clubb, O. Edmund: China's Drive Toward Empire. Oct 21; Our Ignorance in Asia. July 15
Coffin, Tris: John Kennedy: Young Man in a Hurry. Dec. 10
Congress: Army Gets Its Way, John M. Swomley, Jr. Apr 29; Courageous Congressmen, edit. Apr 8; Dinner Is Served, edit. Oct 8; Dismal Performance, edit. Nov 5; F.D.R.'s Worst Hour, edit. June 6; Failure of the Liberals, edit. Dec 6; Forsaken Mandate, edit. Aug. 3; From Headlines to Has-Been, Wilbur H. Baldinger. Aug 18; Liberals, Where Art Thee? Feb. 5; Men in the Middle, Karl E. Meyer. Apr 11; Morse on the Rampage, edit. May 5; Mr. Sam's House, David C. Williams. June 23; Our Languid Liberals, edit. Apr 5; Seeds of Revolt, edit. May 5; Struggle for a Liberal Senate, Senator William Proxmire. June 8; Struggle for a Liberal Senate, Senator Richard L. Neuberger. June 9
Conscription: Army Gets Its Way, John M. Swomley, Jr. Apr 29; Courageous Congressmen, edit. Apr 8; Growing Power of the Military, John M. Swomley, Jr. Jan 24
Conservation: Guarding Our Outdoor Heritage, Richard L. Neuberger. Jan 36
Consumers: Crack-Down on Power Trust Propaganda, Joseph J. Seldin. Sept 41; Crisis in the Commissions, Bernard Schwartz. Aug 10; Monopoly in the Milkshed, Sherwood Ross. May 15; Those Free Encyclopedias, Richard A. Salem. May 35; Voice for Consumers, Senator Estes Kefauver. Jan 41
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Culture: Crabgrass & Coronaries, edit. Sept 6; Culture of Our Own, Frank Lloyd Wright. Jan 70; Man in the Gray Flannel Sheet, Wilma Dykeman. Feb 8; The Mass Man, Sidney Lens. Jan 15; Peaceful Revolution in the South, Warren Ashby. May 32
Cyprus: Spotlight on Cyprus, Eric Baker. Feb 35

Dabbs, James McBride: Up from Segregation. Jan 52
Disarmament: If Peace Breaks Out, edit. Nov 3; That Five Letter Word, Edward P. Morgan. Mar 8
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Dykeman, Wilma & James Stokely: McCarthyism under the Magnolias. July 6

Eaton, Cyrus S.: American Capitalist in Communist Russia. Feb 18
Economics: Administered Prices, edit. June 6; Forsaken Mandate, edit. Aug 3; How Not to Manage the National Debt, Henry S. Reuss. July 18; If Peace Breaks Out, edit. Nov 3; Inefficient Giants, T. K. Quinn. Mar 14; Myth of the Market, edit. June 7; New Economics for America, Leon H. Keyserling. Nov 13; No War, No Poverty?, Stuart Chase. Jan 12; Opportunity of Abundance, Robert G. Lewis. June 26; Poverty of Abundance, Robert G. Lewis. May 9; Soapy's "Socialism," edit. May 7; Unfinished Task, Walter P. Reuther. Jan 20; What Inflation?, Richard L. Strout. Apr 9
Editorials: Challenge Ahead. Jan 3; Holiday Greetings. Jan 5; Alternative to Disaster. Feb 3; Mandate for Action. Mar 3; Toward the Summit. Apr 3; Pay-off. May 3; Hopeful Approach. June 3; Retreat from Freedom. July 3; Forsaken Mandate. Aug 3; Sword and the Spirit. Sept 3; New China Policy. Oct. 3; If Peace Breaks Out. Nov 3; Sound Policy and Good Politics. Dec 3
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Ekirch, Arthur A., Jr.: Limited War. Feb 29

Engle, Senator Clair: Our Self-Defeating China Policy. Oct 24

Fallout: AEC's Sorry Record, edit. May 5; Fallout Numbers Game, edit. June 7; Filling the Vacuum, edit. May 6; Heightened Nuclear Hazard, edit. Oct. 7; Nuclear Tests on Trial, Elinor Ashkenazy. Oct 34

Far East: Nightmare in the Far East, Helen Mears. Mar 18; Our Ignorance in Asia, O. Edmund Clubb. July 15

Faubus: New Populism of Orval Faubus, James Youngdahl. Dec 41

FBI: Bombings and the FBI, edit. Feb 5; Hoover and the FBI, edit. Dec 5; Hoover's Law, edit. Feb. 5; J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI. Dec 26

Federal Commissions: Crisis in the Commissions, Bernard Schwartz. Aug 10

Fernsworth, Lawrence: Franco's Straperlo Game. Mar 32

Fleischman, Harry: Is Labor Color-Blind? Nov 24

Fleming, Donald: Budgeting for the Human Race. Jan 56

Foreign Aid: Franco's Straperlo Game, Lawrence Fernsworth. Mar 32; Pay-off, edit. May 3; Struggle for India, Ruth Widmayer. May 28; Toward a Positive Program in Africa, George Shepherd. Apr 24

Foreign Policy: Alternative to Disaster, edit. Feb 3; American Capitalist in Communist Russia, Cyrus S. Eaton. Feb. 18; American Spirit, Milton Mayer. Jan 59; Americans as Europeans See Them, Anthony Mann. Mar 22; Bohlen Is Back Where He Belongs, edit. Nov 6; Daggers Against Diplomacy, Charles Edmundson. Feb 21; Defensive Posture, edit. Aug 4; A Delusion Dies, edit. Sept 5; Dissenting Opinion, edit. June 4; Growing Power of the Military, John M. Swomley, Jr. Jan 24; Hope for Germany, George L. Mosse. May 18; Hopeful Succession, edit. Mar 5; If Peace Breaks Out, edit. Nov 3; Most Important Fact in the World Today, Adlai Stevenson. July 10; New China Policy, edit. Oct 3; New Raid on the Treasury By Private Enterprise, I. F. Stone. Feb 14; Nightmare in the Far East, Helen Mears. Mar 18; Opportunity of Abundance, Robert G. Lewis. June 26; Our Free Press, edit. Dec 6; Our Ignorance in Asia, O. Edmund Clubb. July 15; Our Obsolete Foreign Policy, James P. Warburg. Jan 47; Our Self-Defeating China Policy, Senator Clair Engle. Oct 24; Our Strange Game in Laos, Maurice J. Goldbloom. Dec 22; Pay-off, edit. May 3; Pendulum Swinging, edit. Sept 7; The People, Yes, edit. Sept. 5; Sound Policy and Good Politics, edit. Dec. 3; Struggle for India, Ruth Widmayer. May 28; Sword and the Spirit, edit. Sept. 3; The Successions, edit. June 5; Toward a More Creative Foreign Policy, Senator William Fulbright. Nov. 20; Toward a Positive Program in Africa, George Shepherd. Apr 24; Toward the Summit, edit. Apr 3; Uproar over Laos, edit. Oct 5; What's Happened to Acheson?, edit. Nov 5; Works for Peace, Hubert Humphrey. Oct 32

Foreign Relations; Americans as Europeans See Them, Anthony Mann. Mar 22; China's Drive Toward Empire, O. Edmund Clubb. Oct. 21; Difference of Opinion, edit. Aug 5; Roads to Peace, edit. May 8; Ten Years of Red China, Hyman Kublin. Oct 9; Time Tramples On, Daniel James. June 21

Formosa: Nightmare in the Far East, Helen Mears. Mar 18

France: France's Uncertain Glory, Sigmund Beck. Sept 33

Fulbright, Senator William: Toward a More Creative Foreign Policy. Nov 20

Germany: Alternative to Disaster, edit. Jan 3; Hope for Germany, George L. Mosse. May 18; Toward the Summit, edit. Apr 3

Goetz, Rachel M.: Urban Renewal Is Also a Private Affair. Oct 38

Goldberg, Arthur: Free-Wheeling Forum. Feb 25

Goldbloom, Maurice J.: Our Strange Game in Laos. Dec 22

Grant, Donald: Dark Horse, Pale Rider. June 15; Nelson Rockefeller: A Republican F.D.R.? Nov 9

Greenberg, Selig: Bitter Pill for the AMA. May 25; Fat of the Land. Aug 20; High Cost of Hospital Abuses. Mar 34

Grodzins, Morton: Segregation in the North. Jan 66

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Harmer, Ruth: Charity: In Thy Sweet Name. July 12

Health: Bitter Pill for the AMA, Selig Greenberg. May 25; Dangerous Decline in Doctors, Richard L. Neuberger. Aug 14; Fat of the Land, Selig Greenberg. Aug 20; High Cost of Hospital Abuses, Selig Greenberg. Mar 34; Life & Death, edit. June 6; Medical Motes and Beams, edit. Nov 8

Hennings, Senator Thomas C., Jr.: Secrecy—Threat to Freedom. Apr 21

Hoffman, Frederick J.: Satan in Windsor Hills. Nov 45

Housing: Hope for Housing, Senator Joseph S. Clark. Apr 18; Minister Battles Slums and Corruption, Sidney Bernard. Nov 36; Urban Renewal Is Also a Private Affair, Rachel M. Goetz. Oct 38

Humphrey, Hubert: Works for Peace. Oct 32

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India: Struggle for India, Ruth Widmayer. May 28

James, Daniel: Time Tramples On. June 21

Japan: Nightmare in the Far East, Helen Mears. Mar 18

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Kastenmeier, Robert: Chemical Warfare: Pentagon Booby-trap. Dec. 19

Kefauver, Senator Estes: Voice for Consumers. Jan 41

Keyserling, Leon H.: New Economics for America. Nov 13

Korea: Fallen Banners, edit. Mar 7; Nightmare in the Far East, Helen Mears. Mar 18

Kublin, Hyman: Ten Years of Red China. Oct 9

Labor: Desperate Plight of Farm Labor, A. Philip Randolph. Feb 38; Dinner Is Served, edit. Oct 8; Fear Behind the Steel Struggle, Edward P. Morgan. Nov 34; Free-Wheeling Forum, Arthur Goldberg. Feb 25; Insider Looks at Labor Unions, Ben Segal. Sept 38; Is Labor Color-Blind?, Harry Fleischman. Nov 24; Labor's Uncertain Trumpet, H. W. Benson. June 41; Left Ferment in Labor, Sidney Lens. Apr 36; Life and Labor, edit. Oct 6; Management's Responsibility, edit. Dec. 9; Red Flags in Steel, edit. Mar 5; Right to Work, edit. May 8; True Collective Bargaining, edit. Nov 5

LaFollette's Magazine: Fifty Years, Russel B. Nye. Jan 7

Latin America: Time Tramples On, Daniel James. June 21

Lebanon: Cross and Crescent in Lebanon, Don Peretz. Mar 26

Lens, Sidney: Bell Tolls in Africa. Nov 16; Left Ferment in Labor. Apr 36; The Mass Man. Jan 15; Shades of Mau Mau. Dec 35

Lewis, R. W. B.: Art and Action. June 48; Fiction and the American Scene. Jan 76

Lewis, Robert G.: Opportunity of Abundance. June 26; Poverty of Abundance. May 9

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MacVane, John: Time Bomb in the Middle East. Feb 32

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Mayer, Milton: American Spirit. Jan 59; Obergurgl Visited. Mar. 29; Swing Lower, Sweet Chariot. June 31; Issue is Miscegenation. Sept 8

Mears, Helen: Study in Deception. Dec 32; Nightmare in the Far East. Mar 18

Meyer, Karl E.: Men in the Middle. Apr 11

Middle East: Cross and Crescent in Lebanon, Don Peretz. Mar 26; Slogans and Socialism in the Middle East, Don Peretz. July 20; Time Bomb in the Middle East, John MacVane. Feb 32

Militarism: Air Force Arrogance, edit. July 5; Army Gets Its Way, John M. Swomley, Jr. Apr 29; Brass, edit. Sept 6; Cave Concept, edit. Aug. 5; Chemical Warfare: Pentagon Booby-trap, Robert Kastenmeier. Dec 19; Dedication to Death, Max Awner. June 40; Growing Power of the Military, John M. Swomley, Jr. Jan 24; High Cost of Killing, edit. Nov. 8; 'A Law Unto Itself,' edit. Aug 5; Limited War, Arthur A. Ekirch, Jr. Feb 29; Murder in Defense, edit. Dec 8; One Man's Waste, edit. Nov 7

Monopoly: Anti-Trust's Achilles' Heel, edit. Nov 7; Conspiracy in Groceries, edit. Nov. 7; Free Enterprise Fairyland, edit. Feb 6; Inefficient Giants, T. K. Quinn. Mar 14; Monopoly in the Milkshed, Sherwood Ross. May 16; Voice for Consumers, Senator Estes Kefauver. Jan 41

Morgan, Edward P.: Buzzing Gadflies of the Press. Dec 40; Fear Behind the Steel Struggle. Nov 34; That Five Letter Word. Mar 8

Mosse, George L.: Hope for Germany. May 18

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Murray, Senator James E.: Crisis in the Classrooms. Apr 15

Neuberger, Richard L.: Dangerous Decline in Doctors. Aug 14; Guarding Our Outdoor Heritage. Jan 36; Struggle for a Liberal Senate. June 9

Nuclear Testing: AEC's Sorry Record, edit. May 5; Action for Peace, edit. May 6; And Now, "Fall-in," edit. June 7; Battle of the Bomb, edit. Apr 5; Fallout Numbers Game, edit. June 7; Filling the Vacuum, edit. May 6; Heightened Nuclear Hazard, edit. Oct 7; High Altitude, Low Blow, edit. May 6; Limited Annihilation, edit. Aug 5; Nuclear Tests on Trial; Elinor Ashkenazy. Oct 34; The Russians Know, edit. Apr 6; Some Curious Distortions, edit. Apr 5; Youth and Death, edit. Sept 6

Nye, Russel B.: Fifty Years. Jan 7

Okinawa: Nightmare in the Far East, Helen Mears. Mar 18

Peretz, Don: Cross and Crescent in Lebanon. Mar 26; Slogans and Socialism in the Middle East. July 20

Politics: America's Broken Mainspring, Adlai E. Stevenson. Mar 9; Changing Negro Vote, edit. Mar 6; Coming Shape of American Politics, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. Sept 22; Crusade, edit. Oct. 7; A Dismal Performance, edit. Nov. 5; Failure of Organized Socialism in America, Norman Thomas. Jan 29; Feuding Oregonians, edit. July 4; Forsaken Mandate, edit. Aug 3; Granite Integrity Rewarded, edit. Dec. 8; How Not to Manage the National Debt, Henry S. Reuss. July 18; John Kennedy: Young Man in a Hurry, Tris Coffin. Dec 10; Liberals, Where Art Thee? Feb 5; The Mass Man, Sidney Lens. Jan 15; Men in the Middle, Karl E. Meyer. Apr 11; Mr. Sam's House, David C. Williams. June 23; Nelson Rockefeller: A Republican F.D.R.?, Donald Grant. Nov 9; New Populism of Orval Faubus, James Youngdahl. Dec 41; Nixon Fattens Up Abroad, edit. Sept 5; Religion and Politics, edit. July 4; Rockefeller Revisited, edit. Dec 6; Rockefeller in Washington, David C. Williams. Feb 11; Salute to Morse, edit. Oct 5; Seeds of Revolt, edit. May 5; Short Day's Journey Into Politics, Margaret Halsey. Apr 27; Smith and Kennedy on Church and State, Francis L. Broderick. June 18; Soapy's "Socialism," edit. May 7; Sound Policy and Good Politics, edit. Dec 3; Strange Bedfellows, edit. Sept 6; Struggle for a Liberal Senate, Senator Richard L. Neuberger. June 9; Struggle for a Liberal Senate, Senator William Proxmire. June 8; Symington, the Middle Man from the Middle Border, James A. Burkhart. Oct 28; That 'Catholic Vote,' edit. Dec 7; War and Peace Among the Democrats, Sidney Hyman. Sept 30; What's Happened to Acheson?, edit. Nov 5

Populism: New Populism of Orval Faubus, James Youngdahl. Dec 41

Presidency: Busy Day, edit. Aug. 5; Presidents, Then and Now, Sidney Hyman. Jan 32

Press: Buzzing Gadflies of the Press, Edward P. Morgan. Dec 40; It Happens in England Too, edit. May 7; Life and Labor, edit. Oct. 6; Our Free Press, edit. Dec 6; Study in Deception, Helen Mears. Dec 32; Time Tramples On, Daniel James. June 21; Time Tramples On (Cont'd), edit. July 5; Uproar over Laos, edit. Oct 5

Progressive, The; Challenge Ahead, edit. Jan. 3; Fifty Years, Russell B. Nye. Jan 7; Special 50th Anniversary Issue. Jan

Proxmire, Senator William: Struggle for a Liberal Senate. June 8

Quinn, T. K.: Inefficient Giants. Mar 14

Race Relations: Brotherhood in the Churches, edit. Mar 7; Changing Negro Vote, edit. Mar 6; Dark Horse, Pale Rider, Donald Grant. June 15; Desegregated Buses, edit. July 5; Equality and Intelligence, edit. Dec 9; Happy Reversal, edit. Dec 8; Hate Rides High, edit. May 6; Hope Comes to Little Rock, Colbert S. Cartwright. Aug 7; Hopeful Approach, edit. June 3; Integration, Northern Style, edit. Nov. 6; Is Labor Color-Blind?, Harry Fleischman. Nov. 24; Issue

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Salem, Richard A.: Those Free Encyclopedias. May 35
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Shepherd, George: Toward a Positive Program in Africa. Apr 24
Simon, Paul: Anti-Communism Loses Its Punch. Nov 35
Social Security; Sound Social Security, edit. Mar 6
Socialism; Democratic Socialism Today, David C. Williams. Nov 31; Failure of Organized Socialism in America, Norman Thomas. Jan 29; Slogans and Socialism in the Middle East, Don Peretz. July 20
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Stone, I. F.: New Raid on the Treasury by Private Enterprise. Feb 14
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United Nations; Changing Character of the United Nations, Sydney Bailey. June 37; Coming Conflicts at the United Nations, Sydney Bailey. Sept 19; UNICEF—Five Cents a Life, edit. May 8; New China Policy, edit. Oct 3

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Williams, David C.: Democratic Socialism Today. Nov 31; Mr. Sam's House, June 23; Rockefeller in Washington. Feb 11
Witcover, Jules: The Uprooted. June 35
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